

# FUNDAMENTAL AND ADULT EDUCATION

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## EDITORIAL

The programme of Unesco for 1959-60 as regards out-of-school education will show, as a distinctive characteristic, an effort towards increased co-ordination of fundamental education, adult education and youth work. These several aspects of informal education will therefore be related more closely to conditions prevailing in Member States. While the activities proposed for the biennium are in the main a continuation of work begun earlier, the emphasis is placed upon training and the production of materials. The two international centres (CREFAL in Mexico and ASFEC in Egypt) will continue their functions of training leaders and field workers for the countries in their regions, and in addition, assistance will be given to national training centres which are being established in increasing numbers.

The principal new activity in out-of-school education will be the organization, in 1960, of a world conference on adult education.

The project for the production of reading materials for new literates, centred on Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan, is to be intensified and extended to one other country, Iran. Projects in adult and youth education sponsored by international organizations or by Member States will also be assisted, preference being given to those which embody a concerted approach to community problems.

Following the trend in the programme, this quarterly bulletin will devote issues to a specific topic, in an attempt to present methods and means applied in different branches of out-of-school education. Thus our first issue in 1959 will include a study on the educational use of radio prepared by Professor André Terrisse, deriving mainly from experiments carried out in Africa. We hope that our readers will let us have their comments on this 'topical' approach and that they will not hesitate to share with us their opinion as to the practical usefulness of each issue for their work.

# WORKERS' EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

B. SHACHAR

It is always difficult to decide how to present information to interested persons living at a distance from the place which has attracted their interest. In my own particular case I feel it would be best to begin with a very brief account of the institution whose activities I shall be describing, and of the larger body to which it belongs.

The Department for Culture and Education functions as part of the Executive of the General Federation of Labour in Israel (referred to below by the popular Hebrew term 'Histadrut'). The Histadrut is a nation-wide organization which unites workers in all professions and occupations, farmers and agricultural labourers, industrial workers and members of the free professions. Its executive holds power of decision over all unions within its ranks, and is chosen by the direct vote of all members. (Hence the term 'federation' should not be misunderstood in this context.)

However, the centralistic structure is combined with a very large measure of autonomy for local labour councils and separate unions in the management of their affairs, naturally within the general lines of policy laid down by the responsible central bodies. The combination of centralism and autonomy may, in fact, be regarded as one of the unique features of the Histadrut, and is rightly considered necessary in a country undergoing simultaneous construction and reconstruction, where personal and collective initiative and endeavour need to follow a course determined largely by what may be called 'the general will'.

This likewise applies, and perhaps with greater force, to the cultural activities of the Histadrut. For spontaneity and free expression of cultural wants and needs are necessary in any sound system of cultural work. Yet at the same time a workers' organization like the Histadrut, with hundreds of thousand of new members of various origins and backgrounds, is vitally interested, together with the State, in integrating them into one meaningful and creative whole. Hence its cultural endeavours must necessarily be governed by a co-ordinated policy, emanating from one source and supported by the governing bodies. The cultural activities of the Histadrut are therefore based, of right and necessity, on a combination of autonomy and centralism.

It is now only proper to indicate some of the department's current activities by a series of figures taken from its report for 1957, and followed by explanations of each item.

Education. Teaching of Hebrew and elementary education, by classes and correspondence: 1,354 classes, 23,370 students; secondary education for adults, 2,262 students; academic education for adults, 690 students; 484 study circles with 9,950 participants

Leadership training. One hundred and fifty-four seminars and courses with 6,397 participants; 221 one-day institutes with 13,481 participants.

Lectures. A total of 4,705 were given.

Publications. Twenty-six pamphlets (127,000 copies); 22 pedagogical publications (131,000 copies); 104 publications in matters of art (140,000 copies); 2 publications in librarianship (12,000 copies).

Audio-visual work. Six posters (80,000 copies); weekly wireless broadcasts; mobile exhibition.

Travelling. Outings, trips and tours numbering 443 with 31,812 participants.

Libraries and clubs. Seven hundred and sixty libraries containing over 2 million books; 365 clubs.

Art groups. Two hundred and twenty choirs (12,000 participants); 60 orchestras



(1,400 participants); 120 dramatic circles (4,000 participants); 250 folk-dance groups (10,000 participants).  
Art performances. By Telem (details below), 415 before 123,350 spectators; by other groups or bodies, 3,383 before 358,150 spectators.  
Cinema performances. A total of 20,274 performances before 2,963,500 spectators.

This list does not include all the organized activities engaged in under the aegis of the Histadrut during 1957, but only those which took place directly through the Department for Culture and Education. It may safely be assumed that the total number of organized cultural activities within the Histadrut is far larger. Nor does the list include activities which, while properly within our scope, are actually handled by other central bodies, such as the various publishing houses and the OHEL Workers' Theatre.

We will now proceed to clarify the above figures, using them as pegs for somewhat fuller details.

#### EDUCATION

The first part of our list begins with elementary education and concludes with academic education and study circles. This very broad scope of activities is the natural outcome of a situation in which Histadrut membership, as already mentioned, includes on the one hand, hundreds of thousands of new immigrants who need either instruction in Hebrew or elementary general education, and on the other hand, thousands of others who wish to proceed with their general education on either a secondary or an academic level. The Histadrut considers that it has to provide opportunities of learning for these varied groups jointly with State institutions, municipal authorities and institutions of higher learning in the country. In this it is actuated by the conviction that the organization should serve the worker as a home, where all his educational needs and desires can be satisfied. There are many places, particularly in the villages, etc., where the Histadrut is the only body which is in a position to undertake the burden of organized cultural work. Only subsequently, and at a higher stage of development, do local government authorities take a hand, usually by co-operating with the labour council or the village council. The State exerts itself to the utmost in order to assist; but its primary task is to provide legally compulsory education for all children aged 5 to 14, and for the present it is not in a position to satisfy adult demands. Higher education is provided in several institutes maintained jointly with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Ministry of Education and Culture, for example, the School of Higher Studies in the Social Sciences, Institute for Israel Studies, Teachers College for In-Service Training (in co-operation with the Union of Teachers), and Working Mens' College.

The Histadrut feels that in this sphere of activities it has undertaken a pioneering role which amounts at times to a very heavy burden, and should therefore enjoy a greater measure of assistance from the State.

#### LEADERSHIP TRAINING

This is one of the 'normal' branches of activity of a workers' organization, and clearly plays a major role in any prudent educational policy.

In Israel, thousands upon thousands of people who have only recently begun to engage in manual work have brought with them usages and customs that vary to an often fantastic degree. They have to be educated to a level of co-operation, cultural integration and willingness to adopt new ways of life. This involves the creation of nuclei of leaders in all spheres and activities of daily existence, starting from elementary notions of behaviour and citizenship to later on learning trade union ways and methods.



It is therefore easy to understand why the Histadrut devotes much of its budget and energy to the task of leadership training and maintains two colleges for the purpose; one in Tel Aviv, the other near Tiberias. Naturally there is a rapid succession of courses and seminars, and the number of participants is considerable. At the same time thought is also given to the long-term education of leaders. A leadership training course at which participants studied for about three months has recently been completed.

#### LECTURES

In spite of many criticisms, the lecture is still a recognized method of educational work among adults, and it is widely used in Israel. Topics of lectures cover a wide range and may include popular politics, sociology, history (ancient and modern), civics, trade unionism, and so on. Special panels of lecturers are maintained with an eye to the needs of the various audiences. Some are provided by the Extension Department of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which co-operates closely with the Department for Culture and Education of the Histadrut.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Here again a remarkable range is covered. First come the many pamphlets designed to explain current events in the Histadrut at a more detached level than can be attained by the daily press. The intention is to clarify the fundamental human, Jewish and pioneer values underlying the issues concerned. Then there are the different pedagogical journals (one for teachers, the other for parents); the musical scores, publication of which makes the department the largest house of this kind in the country; manuals for leaders in other branches of popular culture (folk-dances, dramatic circles), and so on. The publication section of the department also issues a monthly guide to books, and takes a very prominent part in supplying schoolbooks for children.

#### AUDIO-VISUAL WORK

Israel pays due homage to the new forms of mass communication. The broadcasting service is the monopoly of the State, but time is allotted for broadcasts by institutions, and the Histadrut frequently uses this extremely important channel in order to make contact with the public at large. Mention should also be made of the numerous posters published, particularly in connexion with festive occasions, and last year's travelling exhibitions devoted to the cultural work of the Histadrut, which visited 14 towns.

#### OUTINGS, TRIPS AND TOURS

These activities are of particular importance to immigrants, who need to establish direct contact with their new homeland. Organized trips and tours are very numerous and are generally enjoyed. Participants cover the expenses, but when they cannot afford it they are helped out, in part at least.

#### LIBRARIES AND CLUBS

It has become standard practice to establish libraries and clubs in all branches of the Histadrut, in villages and towns. Their importance cannot be exaggerated, for they serve not only as focal points in the dissemination of knowledge, but also as social centres where people learn to become friendly and enjoy pleasant surroundings with some comfort, though this at times is severely limited owing to lack of funds.

## ART GROUPS

These very diversified activities can be pointed to with some pride. They spring from the inner need of people to express themselves by way of art, and are liberally encouraged because of the conviction that there is no better way for developing the creative potentialities of man and society, and bringing them into closer relation, than the establishment and promotion of art expression. Hence the flourishing network of choirs, orchestras, dramatic circles and folk-dance groups. All these provide opportunities of utilizing the creative values and achievements brought from various countries of origin, whereas in the case of scientific knowledge and technology the older patterns must necessarily be cast aside.

## ART PERFORMANCES

It would be unfair, if not impossible, to leave people to their own resources, especially in villages and settlements lying far from urban centres. Villagers enjoy good plays and concerts, and newcomers deserve to be shown artistic performances suited to their capacity for understanding and appreciation.

A special company was accordingly established in close co-operation between the government, the Jewish Agency and the Histadrut under the name of Telem, with the purpose of arranging theatrical performances for newcomers at very cheap rates. It is gratifying to state that this company enjoys ever-increasing popularity. At the same time frequent performances by single actors, reciters, singers, and dancers of note are regularly arranged at various places. There is always a certain disharmony between the tendency to develop 'home-grown' art and the inclination of people to enjoy performances by professionals. Here the Department for Culture and Education has to maintain a very careful balance, while preferring the cultivation of locally-inspired arts.

## CINEMA PERFORMANCES

Lastly, we must mention the special division which provides cinema performances in villages and small urban centres. The films used are 16 mm. Hundreds of projectors have been acquired and set up by this division in various places. Needless to say, films enjoy enormous popularity, sometimes to the chagrin of the department, which would prefer more serious educational works, and knows that only rarely can full approval be given to commercial films. The department itself is trying to foster the production of documentary films, of which there have so far been 20. One of these was awarded first prize at an international labour film festival held last year in Vienna. But the documentary film cannot supplant the ever-victorious big film, which fact must undoubtedly be of serious concern to all who are interested in the impact of mass media on the public throughout the world.

And so we reach the end of this account. Ours is a straightforward attempt to supply workers in Israel, who are endeavouring to shape and live a new life, with some of the amenities of civilization and culture. These are regarded not as luxuries but as important ingredients of full living, which should not tower high above daily effort and toil but should be incorporated in the life of each individual, and of society as a whole. It may safely be said, that this aspiration constitutes the motive and ideological force behind the extensive and intensive cultural and educational efforts made by the Histadrut.



## THE LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY IN THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC<sup>1</sup>

The changes of 10 years ago in the political structure of Rumania have produced parallel changes in the country's economic and social system, in labour relations and in the conditions of everyday life.

To lay the economic infrastructure of the State and transform Rumania from an agricultural country, where 50 per cent of small farms were without ploughs and 37 per cent without draught animals, into an industrially developed State with an agriculture based on a system of farm co-operatives, a body of new experts had to be trained equal to the demands of modern technique. The introduction of a new mode of life necessitated raising the cultural level of the entire population so as to ensure their active participation in the administrative and political life of the country and fulfilment of the tasks which the Rumanian People's Republic faced.

### SCALE OF THE PROBLEM BEFORE 1945

Efforts to raise the cultural level of the population had to begin with an attack on the most elementary, but also the most vital task—the liquidation of illiteracy, which 10 or 15 years ago was still a mass problem. The 1930 census had shown that 38.2 per cent of the Rumanian population could neither read nor write. In certain districts (Vlasca and Maramures), the percentage was as high as 43 to 56.

This high illiteracy rate was due primarily to the government's complete indifference to the question of raising the nation's cultural level. In 1910, a comparison made between the annual amount spent by various States on education per child showed that Rumania was not far in advance of Spain—the country spending the least on education. Many of its villages had no elementary schools, and even where they existed they were unable to cater for all the children between the ages of 7 and 14.

In the school year 1932-33, 48 per cent of the schools consisted of only one class, and about 27 per cent of them were in hired premises, while the number of teachers was ten to twelve thousand short of the figure required to provide instruction for all school-age children.

Another major reason for the large number of children receiving no schooling was the more than precarious circumstances of the parents, who found it impossible to let their children attend. In the countryside, most of the peasantry was landless and worked on the farms of the *boyars*, while in the towns, the development of industry, with all it implied in the way of concentration and centralization of capital, resulted in the accumulation of large fortunes in the hands of a few individuals, who controlled the fate of hundreds of thousands of workers and their families to suit their own interests.

During the school year 1931-32, about one in four of all children of school age was not even enrolled at the schools, and many of those that were, were unable to attend, thus swelling the number of illiterates year by year. In old Rumania, elementary instruction—especially in rural areas—was an expense which most parents could not afford. At the same time, the school syllabuses, which were almost entirely based on memorization and took no account of the practical needs of life, were pointless as far as parents were concerned and gave them little inducement to send their children to school. The principle of free and compulsory elementary education, as laid down in educational legislation from 1864 onwards, had never succeeded in finding effective application, which meant that there was a crass contradiction between the legal precept and everyday practice.

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1. Article prepared by the Rumanian National Commission for Unesco.



True, various measures were taken by successive governments to remove Rumania from the company of the countries with the highest illiteracy rates, but they only scratched the surface of the problem.

For example, the law imposed various penalties—fines or short terms of imprisonment—upon parents who failed to send their children to school, but they were never enforced and became a dead letter for the good reason that offenders far outnumbered persons who complied with the law.

A campaign had been launched during the school year 1920-21 to liquidate illiteracy but its meagre result was the enrolment of 6,600 adults out of the millions of existing illiterates; and of those 6,600 only 272 successfully completed their studies. Under these conditions, the number of illiterates among the rising generation would have remained unchanged and the liquidation of illiteracy would have been out of the question.

A close analysis of the reasons for the high illiteracy rate in Rumania reveals the following facts. In each year, a large proportion of the children covered by the census returns was not even enrolled at school, while a large proportion of those that were did not attend. Many of the children left the schools without completing their studies. Some 8 to 10 per cent of the pupils stayed several terms in the same class or stopped attending school altogether. No special schools existed for physically or mentally defective children. A large number of children who had completed their elementary schooling gradually relapsed into illiteracy because there were no cultural institutions to provide them with reading material.

#### INITIAL ATTEMPTS ON THE NATIONAL SCALE

In 1945, the Ministry of Education and Culture statistics showed that there were over 4 million illiterates in Rumania, and the problem of educating them was a most difficult one.

At that point, the Rumanian General Confederation of Labour, which enjoyed complete freedom of action, organized its first literacy courses in the towns and villages. It prepared and published manuals and created the necessary material conditions to enable adults to attend the courses. In 1948, after three years of sustained trade union action, it was found, at the general census, that there were still 3,197,278 illiterates in Rumania, which meant that 23.1 per cent of the population over the age of 7 were unable to read or write.

The bulk of them—2,800,000—were in rural areas, including the richest parts of the country: the Prahova valley, with its many oil wells; the Hunedoara region and adjacent districts, an important centre of the metallurgical industry; the Baia Mare region, with its forestry industry and the Danube Plain, with its rich farmlands.

Illiteracy was twice as widespread among women as among men, and also had a high incidence among the national minorities, especially in the Baia Mare, Cluj and Oradea regions and the Tulcea district. In certain areas, the incidence was so high as to make them virtual pockets of illiteracy: Maramures had a figure of 56.4 per cent and the Department of Ilfov 43.4 per cent.

#### LITERACY CAMPAIGN AS PART OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In 1948, the Grand National Assembly passed an educational reform law inaugurating a new educational system—that of a people's democracy. The liquidation of illiteracy, for which the law provided, thus became an affair of State which was taken up in every annual plan, the five-year plans, the law establishing people's councils, in government decisions on teachers' working and living conditions; in resolutions adopted by teachers' congresses and central committees of national welfare organizations and in other important State documents.



The reform law placed the organizational direction of the literacy campaign in the hands of the Ministry of Education. Article 25 stipulated that illiterates between 14 and 55 years of age must be taught to read and write, but added that all workers and anyone else above that age limit who wished to become literate was entitled to attend the literacy courses.

In implementation of these provisions, the ministry has for the past eight years, from 1 to 15 October, taken an annual census of the illiterate population arranged in five age-groups: 14-20, 21-40, 41-50, 51-60 and 61 and over. The census figures were used for establishing the annual plans for the number of illiterates to be given instruction, the plans then going before the Council of Ministers for approval.

The length of the courses was fixed at two years, each year's programme corresponding to those of two elementary school classes. At the end of the course, the pupils took a qualifying examination showing that they had reached a level of education equal to that of children completing their studies at elementary schools.

To carry the scheme into effect, literacy courses were organized in factories, on work sites, in schools and barracks, at cultural centres in towns and at farm co-operatives, on housing estates and in the illiterates' own homes.

In the villages, the courses lasted from 1 October to 2 March, and in the towns from 1 October to 30 April. In the latter, additional summer courses were organized from 3 May to 1 October which meant that urban illiterates were able to receive full instruction within the space of only one year.

In the villages, the size of the groups taking the courses was kept at 1 to 3 as against 10 to 20, the instruction being given by educated members of the local community, with three two-hour sessions a week, as against two in the towns.

An important part in eradicating illiteracy was played by the village, district and regional people's councils, the national welfare organizations and the individual ministries. All these bodies helped to provide the requisite material conditions for running the courses (classrooms, furniture, heating, lighting) in institutions and factories, on work sites and in the illiterates' own homes.

#### MASS COMMUNICATION AND AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA

One of the most difficult problems was to ensure regular attendance at the courses by the oldest group of illiterates who—at their age—saw no need of learning to read and write. To get them to attend, an elaborate and varied campaign of persuasion had to be waged: the need for understanding the importance of liquidating illiteracy and promoting the campaign was impressed on every citizen with any degree of education; the Bucharest and provincial press published articles, investigation findings and surveys; new literates spoke on the radio; lectures were arranged and special broadcasts for relaying over loudspeakers in factories, institutions, towns and villages. General appeals for assistance were made by press and radio, and the names of successful literacy workers publicized. The cinema contributed to the volume of propaganda by showing many films on the teaching of illiterates, while filmstrips illustrated suitable ways of getting adults to attend the courses regularly and the best methods of instruction.

The Rumanian Writers' Union commissioned a number of short plays on the subject of the campaign, and these were performed at cultural centres, peoples' assembly halls and cultural clubs, at factories and farm co-operatives.

Leading writers like Mihai Sadoveanu wrote books and pamphlets to popularize the campaign among the illiterates themselves, the works also serving them as readers.

The campaign was further popularized by an assortment of brightly-coloured posters and by such slogans as 'Every illiterate on the register!' and 'Liquidate illiteracy in our factory!' Matchboxes bore the words 'Fight illiteracy'. The Central Trade Union Council printed and distributed 52,000 colour posters and 60,000 appeals during 1953 alone. Good use was made of graphs and display boards honouring outstanding



helpers in the campaign, of wall-newspapers in factories and institutions, and of the popular press.

An important factor in bringing illiterate adults together and inducing them to attend courses regularly was the campaign of persuasion waged by persons with school education. Teachers made the rounds of factories to address workers on day and night shifts, and succeeded in winning them over.

One method employed to ensure attendance was to see that the illiterates' working conditions were suitably adapted. Their working hours were arranged to fit in with the study programme, they were exempted from jobs which involved being sent away, and the State, people's councils, social organizations and factories provided them with free books and school supplies. Adults failing to attend the courses were questioned by voluntary workers, who would call at their factory or workshop to talk things over with them and help them to maintain regular attendance.

Illiterates doing well in their studies were rewarded with prizes in cash or kind, free holidays at spas, free outings and honourable mention in the press, on the radio, at cultural centres and in their own factories.

On completing the courses, the new literates qualified for higher professional status and received higher wages in consequence. This gave them an incentive to follow the courses sedulously. To prevent a relapse into illiteracy, they were urged to take part in various cultural activities at cultural clubs and centres or to continue their studies.

At the same time periodical reviews of the steps to be taken to eradicate illiteracy were made by the social organizations in the towns and villages in the light of the number of illiterates still remaining in the areas under their jurisdiction. The Central Trade Union Council, the Council of Democratic Women and the Central Committee of the Young Workers' League issued resolutions defining the tasks of their members in that connexion and launched appeals calling on the general public to participate actively in teaching illiterates.

#### PRODUCTION OF READING MATERIAL FOR NEW LITERATES

Special attention was given to the problem of ensuring the permanent and thorough assimilation by the new literates of their acquired learning, in other words, the problem of the continuous improvement of teaching methods. With that end in view, the Ministry of Education prepared, printed and distributed tens of thousands of instruction programmes free of charge, each programme corresponding to a year of study. Over 5 million manuals for illiterates were thus compiled and printed, both in Rumanian and in the languages of the national minorities. Tens of thousands of 'teacher's guides' were also produced, describing the various methods for each year of study. Teaching methods were worked out under the guidance of the specialized press (*Educational Gazette* and *Pedagogical Review*). A wealth of teaching material was pressed into service, whether already existing in schools or specially devised by adults. For teaching the alphabet, the voluntary instructors used cut-out letters. The lessons themselves were followed by literary readings, film shows or group listening to broadcasts.

Apart from the thousands of teachers, educators and professors who viewed the instruction of illiterates as their patriotic duty, tens of thousands of educated citizens were trained by the people's councils and social organizations to give free instruction. Professional teachers were sent for full-time work to villages and localities where the number of illiterates was high.

The most appropriate teaching methods, and arrangements for continuously perfecting them, were worked out by members of the teaching profession at refresher courses organized by the pedagogical departments at schools and the educational departments of the people's councils, at educational seminars organized by trade unions and at local meetings of teaching staffs.

The Presidium of the Grand National Assembly conferred orders and medals on



persons who had distinguished themselves in the campaign, while other awards consisted of prizes in cash or kind (on the decision of the government or the people's councils), free holidays at rest centres, free excursions, and diplomas and badges of merit. Some of the voluntary teachers were paid public tributes at meetings of the National Assembly itself or at meetings of the central committee of the social organizations or executive committees of the people's councils. Teachers, educators and professors showing themselves deserving of particular honour were awarded the title of 'Distinguished Teacher (or Professor)' or 'Teacher (or Professor Emeritus)'.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The control and direction of the task of liquidating illiteracy were entrusted to organs of the Ministry of Education and the education departments of the people's councils, with the social organizations taking over responsibility in the places where the actual courses were given. Combined teams consisting of representatives of the latter bodies and the ministry provided local support to ensure the smooth running of the courses.

The campaign could never have become a mass operation without the backing given to the ministry by the people's councils and social organizations, which called on millions of citizens to give them material and moral support.

For the school year 1948-49, the State plan provided for 400,000 illiterates to attend literacy courses. In the event, the number putting in a regular attendance was 670,000 so that the target was exceeded by 67 per cent. In the school year 1949-50, 617,000 adults completed their two-year course, their programme being equivalent to that for the four-year elementary schools.

An aspect to which the State paid particular attention was the liquidation of illiteracy among the national minorities. Courses were organized in their mother tongues, and manuals prepared and printed to match, with tens of thousands of educated persons imparting instruction in those languages.

The second five-year plan was marked by the liquidation of illiteracy in the Rumanian People's Republic.

By learning to read and write the new literates qualified themselves for various trades, which they mastered both at trade schools and on the job. They were able to take on tasks involving greater responsibility, bringing in higher wages and thus providing them with a higher standard of living.

The new literates in the towns and villages were drawn into the cultural life around them—whether in the factories, farm co-operatives or cultural centres. Those wishing to continue their studies were able to do so at ordinary schools, evening classes for young workers and peasants, intermediate technical schools or through correspondence courses.

To eradicate the causes of illiteracy, the State has guaranteed material conditions enabling every child of school age to attend elementary school. A seven-year course of elementary teaching is now becoming general: it is already so in the towns and on workers' estates, and by the time the second five-year plan is completed (1960) it should cover 90 per cent of the children who have been through the fourth-year class at elementary schools.

Special attention is paid to the education of tomorrow's citizens from earliest childhood. Whereas in the school year 1938-39 there were only 1,577 nursery schools attended by 90,787 children, with 1,918 nursery school teachers, there were 6,527 in 1956-57, with 276,673 children and 10,201 teachers.

The trade schools for training the coming generation of skilled workers have developed apace, as have the intermediate technical schools. By 1956-57, the number of the former had increased (compared with 1938-39) from 224, with 39,250 pupils and 896 teachers, to 410, with 98,005 pupils and 6,248 teachers. The corresponding increase



in the number of technical schools was 145 per cent. In this way, young people have been provided with unlimited opportunities for advanced study.

The raising of the cultural level of the population is ensured thanks to the wide network of cultural institutions set up during the past few years, the mass of publications designed for all categories of readers, and the organization of cultural events of all kinds. For example, the number of cultural institutions (cultural centres, libraries, co-operative farm centres and trade union clubs) had increased by 238 in 1956 as compared with 1948. The number of libraries rose from 30,000 to 39,000 between 1946 and 1949, and the number of volumes from 14,544 million to 53,875 million between 1949 and 1956.<sup>1</sup> The number of cinemas, theatres, radio sets and museums show corresponding increases of three to five times.<sup>2</sup>

The number of printed works rose from 2,417 (or 15,488 sheets of 16 pages) in 1949 to 2,914 (33,461 sheets) in 1956. The corresponding figure for works in the languages of the national minorities was 5,617 sheets as compared with 4,322.

The liquidation of illiteracy in the Rumanian People's Republic is an achievement of major importance. It was possible only thanks to the new conditions of life and the solidarity of the population in treating it as a paramount patriotic duty.

## THE FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION<sup>3</sup>

ROBERT PEERS

### PAST TRADITION AND PRESENT DOUBTS

In the preceding chapters,<sup>4</sup> an attempt has been made to trace the growth of adult education in Britain and other countries and to describe its various forms against the background of contemporary social conditions. We must now consider, in the light of the changing conditions of society today, what should be its place and function in the future.

Looked at historically, it is in many ways a moving story—the story of the struggle of ordinary people to catch up with the knowledge necessary to enable them to live decent and useful lives, to understand the world about them and the ideas which seemed to have significance in the situations in which they found themselves, and, above all, to break through the barrier of inarticulateness which cut them off from their fellows and walled them about with loneliness.

In our own country, it has been possible to trace in some detail, against the background of the comparatively slow process of social change in the nineteenth century, the efforts to relate adult education to the changing needs of each successive age, as the State took over, gradually and belatedly, responsibility for elementary forms of education, so that succeeding generations of adults were at least equipped with the tools of learning, and the pursuit of higher forms of education became increasingly possible at the adult stage. Just as, at an earlier stage, the lack of opportunities for elementary education had thrown the onus upon voluntary effort and self-help, so now, in the years about the turn of the century, the same spirit came to the aid of

1. *Statistical Yearbook of the Rumanian People's Republic*, 1957, p. 213.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

3. Reproduced from the book *Adult Education: a comparative study*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, by arrangement with the publishers.

4. i.e., of the original book (Ed.)



inadequate opportunities for higher education. The dominant motives were, on the one hand, a vague belief in the power of knowledge of whatever kind to enable people to live fuller and better lives and, on the other hand, the urge to seek, in particular kinds of knowledge, the key to greater influence in public affairs and the ability to exercise intelligently the newly acquired rights of democratic citizenship.

It is a far cry from the efforts of illiterate adults to learn to read and write, to the pursuit by ordinary men and women in university extra-mural classes and courses of advanced studies in history, economics, philosophy, literature and science; from the benevolent activities of Sunday school teachers to the services of a numerous body of university teachers devoted to the business of adult education. In some other countries this historical development, owing to the increasingly rapid tempo of social change, has been telescoped. In newly emerging nations in many parts of the world, advanced extra-mural teaching and the mass education of illiterates are going on side by side. Even in the United States, adult education covers post-graduate university studies and elementary education for those who failed to complete eight grades of schooling. In the variety of conditions and the multiplicity of purposes to be served, there is some danger that we may become confused as to the significance of adult education in the modern State, its meaning for the future of our civilization.

There are some indeed who doubt whether, in educationally advanced countries, adult education as a movement has any longer a specific function of its own. It served its purpose while State systems of education were developing and opportunities of higher education through universities and technical institutions were expanding, and its remaining function may be merely to supplement these as and when the necessity arises. Its principal purpose in the past has been to provide for the further education of the educationally underprivileged. Since, it is claimed, there will cease to be, under existing arrangements in advanced communities, a class of citizens who are educationally underprivileged—in the sense that, although they have the abilities to enable them to profit by higher education, they have been denied the opportunity to do so—an adult education movement as such will cease to be necessary.

This view seems to find some confirmation in our own country in the relative decline in the WEA demand for tutorial classes, particularly those dealing with the social sciences; and some extra-mural departments seem to be accepting the inevitability of a falling-off in general humane studies with a social purpose and to be envisaging a new orientation of extra-mural teaching, partly in the direction of satisfying vocational and professional needs, partly as a continuation of full-time higher academic education in particular subjects. While many of these developments are valuable in themselves, they may in fact be symptomatic of the loss of any real sense of purpose, central to the conception of adult education as a whole and related to the changing needs of modern society; they may represent a retreat into opportunism in contrast to the purposiveness of the earlier movement.

Present uncertainties about the role of adult education in a democratic society are expressed in conflicting opinions among those who in this country are now, as the heads of university extra-mural departments, mainly responsible for determining its future direction. Thus there are those who look back nostalgically to the 'great tradition' of English adult education—the tradition of liberal studies as distinct from vocational or examination-directed studies, and in particular those concerned with the social sciences; the tradition of purposive discussion between tutors and adult students meeting as equals in pursuit of common educational ends; the assumption, which is also part of the tradition, that the will to learn inspired by a sense of social purpose is more important at the adult stage than previous educational qualifications and that ordinary men and women, who may have left school at an early age and have learned subsequently in the hard school of experience, are capable of pursuing intensive courses of university study. They fear that the new trend (new, it should be observed, in Britain but not in other countries), because it is in line with the current general tendency



to put the main emphasis on specialized professional and technical education, which is drastically changing the balance of studies inside the universities, may operate to the disadvantage of liberal studies extra-murally, since limited resources will be devoted more and more to those activities which commend themselves for their utilitarian purpose, and extra-mural departments will gain credit and renewed confidence because they are fitting in with the spirit of a materialistic age.

Those who take an opposing view see no reason why the extra-mural work of universities should not reflect their internal teaching. They see no conflict between the need to continue to provide for liberal adult education and the need to help those who wish to pursue to a higher level the professional and vocational studies in which they have already specialized. And they tend more and more to question the validity of the distinction between liberal and vocational studies, and between learning for its own sake, from pure interest in the subject, and learning which aims at the passing of examinations.<sup>1</sup>

Cutting across this controversy, there is the concern about university standards. What kind of teaching is appropriate to a university? How far can these standards be preserved in short courses for non-specialized groups, which now form an increasing proportion of the work of extra-mural departments, or how far, for normal adult groups, do they demand nothing short of the discipline of the university tutorial class? This kind of questioning again arises from the need which is felt in the present atmosphere to justify the extra-mural provision as an integral part of the work of a university. In Germany, the feeling that adult education in any of its forms is not capable of being justified in terms of university standards has kept the universities out of the general field altogether. In Canada, on the other hand, and to a less extent in the United States, the main criterion has been the existence of a demand from adult groups, whatever its nature, which could be satisfied by the extra-mural agencies of the universities concerned. What is the right position for the universities between these two extremes? And what other agencies can meet that part of the need which the universities are unable or unwilling to satisfy?

Whatever other reasons there may be, it is not possible to justify the progressive abandonment of the traditional field, in favour of concentrating on the education of the already educated, on the ground that the class of educationally underprivileged adults no longer exists in advanced communities. We still have with us the adult products of an earlier school system; and, for reasons which have already been suggested, it seems unlikely that present arrangements—or indeed any possible arrangements—in this or any other country will succeed in creaming off at an early stage all the latent ability capable of benefiting by continued higher education in the years of adolescence and early adult life. The real problem is to discover why it is that the demand for adult education from those who missed the opportunity for higher education in youth, so insistent in the earlier period, has apparently slackened off at the present time when it is most needed.

This, however, is only one aspect of the need for adult education in the modern community—and it may be hoped that it will be a diminishing one. Throughout its history, adult education has been a kind of *pis aller*—a substitute for opportunities of learning which the community had failed to provide at the proper time. Only now, in those few countries in which educational opportunity is beginning to catch up with the need, are we able to perceive clearly the real purpose of continued education in adult life, and to see it as a necessary part of the education of the citizen of the democratic State, that part which belongs to adult life because it cannot be undertaken at any earlier stage. Once that conception of the future function of adult education

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1. See the article by H. C. Wiltshire, 'The Great Tradition in University Adult Education', in *Adult Education*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, Autumn 1956, and the articles in reply by P. A. W. Collins and T. Kelly, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Winter 1956.

is clear, doubts and uncertainties disappear. It is no longer necessary to ask the question, 'For whom is it intended?', since the answer must be, for all who are capable of profiting by it, whatever their previous education may have been. It is true that this leaves unanswered the question, 'What kind of education for what kinds of people?'; and that raises the further question, 'By whom is it to be provided?' These questions can only be answered if we are clear as to the nature of the need, and that can only be ascertained in the light of an understanding of the present character and future possibilities of the society in which we live.

#### THE CHARACTERISTICS AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF ADVANCED SOCIETIES

Whether we realize it or not, the lives of all of us today are dominated by the growth of knowledge and by the need to preserve and increase it. Knowledge has grown more rapidly in the past two centuries than ever before in the history of humanity, and it has grown at an ever-accelerating rate. The discoveries of science applied to industrial production and the transport of goods have transformed our ways of living, made possible and indeed inevitable dense aggregations of population, reduced the burden of manual labour, increased leisure and raised the standards of living of ordinary people beyond the wildest dreams of the utopian philosophers. Disease has been progressively conquered, the appalling waste of child life has been eliminated, and decades have been added to the average expectation of life of those fortunate enough to be born into civilized communities.

New discoveries of our own day have opened up fresh prospects of advance in material well-being and widened horizons. The use of atomic energy and the methods of automation contain the promise of increased production with much less cost in sheer labour and therefore still greater leisure and more ample means to enjoy it. At the same time, still more human energy is released from the direct production of material goods and thus becomes available for those non-material services which are the mark of a civilized society.

Societies today can no longer live to themselves. The new knowledge has broken down barriers and annihilated space. We travel with the speed of sound, and sound itself, through the miracle of radio, travels across the world with the speed of light. Television and the film have opened windows through which we can, if we will, look out and see what the rest of the world is doing. This breaking down of barriers has, of course, implications for a world divided into backward and advanced societies, with a great gulf fixed between them as far as standards of living are concerned.

These are the gains which the great growth of knowledge has brought to modern society, with the promise of greater gains to come. But what of the cost? Living as we do in dense urban communities has destroyed the simplicity of earlier relationships. Specialization in the applications of knowledge to the business of living and getting a living has resulted in great complexity of social grouping, and common interests are more difficult to see and to define. Failure at any point in these complicated relationships threatens the stability of the whole, and the promised gains may be lost through failure in our ability to control the colossus which we have created. This problem of control goes to the heart of what we are trying to do in maintaining the ideal of democracy in the face of growing difficulties.

It is often said that knowledge of the kind that contributes to an understanding of the human problems involved has failed to keep pace with the growth of scientific and technical knowledge. The evidence for the truth of this statement is all about us, in the periodic breakdown of industrial relationships, in our apparent inability to relate purchasing power to productivity, in the use which we make of leisure, in our failure to deal effectively with anti-social elements within our societies and, above all, in the continuing failure to create any common basis of international understanding. Governments, particularly our own, are rightly concerned to raise the whole level of scientific



and technical education and to increase the number of those capable of absorbing and of applying the knowledge which we now possess, in order to enhance the wealth of the nation and of the world. Civilization can advance only as the products of labour are increased beyond the bare needs of subsistence, and the potential advance is proportionate to the size of that surplus. But the most advanced techniques alone cannot ensure even the material success of our efforts, since they can be made nugatory in our free societies by failure in human relationships, leading to a breakdown of that co-operation between individuals and groups upon which the whole complex machinery of the modern State depends. And if, at the same time, we concentrate upon the means to material achievement and give little thought to the ends to be served in terms of human values, the last state may be worse than the first. We shall dissipate our gains in foolish living and waste our substance in destructive conflict.

It is evident that education must be a major concern of those responsible for directing the destinies of the modern State; and that, in the last resort, means all of us, if democracy is to mean anything at all. But again what kind of education, and how is it to be achieved?

The very growth of knowledge determines the answer. In the first place, because there is so much to learn, it has been necessary to deepen the foundations laid in the schools. In the nineteenth century, it was thought sufficient to ensure that all should be given a general elementary education, leaving the fortunate few to find opportunities of higher education to fit them for the tasks of leadership. Today, it is generally accepted that nothing short of secondary education for all is needed if enough ability is to emerge to carry the burden of the greater and more varied knowledge upon which the life of society now depends; and we are beginning to realize that even this is not enough, and that compulsory continued education beyond the school-leaving age is now becoming an urgent need.

But what kind of knowledge and what kind of abilities are to be built upon these foundations? Clearly the first need is to ensure that enough people emerge with the abilities and the knowledge necessary to ensure the effective functioning of our complex mass society. We have to produce in increasing numbers scientists, technologists, technicians, administrators, managers, and a great variety of professional workers. To do this involves more and more specialization for longer periods in the life of the individual, for only by specialization can the great burden of necessary knowledge be carried, increased, and passed on to future generations. This means that, for all who aspire to something more than routine, unskilled jobs or work which demands nothing more than physical strength, vocational education of a more and more specialized character has to be prolonged throughout the years of adolescence and, for large numbers, well into the early years of adult life. Even in the universities, and that not merely in faculties of science and technology, minute specialization is the order of the day; and in technical colleges the same degree of specialization is not even modified in its effect by the more varied day to day contacts which are possible in the universities. Yet upon the products of this kind of training will depend in large measure, not only the efficient working of our productive activities in the technical sense, but also the smooth operation of the system as a whole and the viability of our democratic way of life.

Education in the form of specialized training is followed by specialization in work. But this has further implications. The individual can be effective only as one of a team, working in co-operation with others who are engaged in complementary functions. Even in these relationships, specialized vocational training is not enough. But beyond this, he has a life to live as a member of the larger society, which also makes demands upon him in his capacity as a parent, as a member of one or other of the social groups to which he is attracted by interest or conjuncture, and as a citizen of the State. It is certain that his specialized training cannot fit him for these larger functions and indeed, because of its narrowing influence, may actually be destructive of the qualities required.

For the exercise of the duties and privileges of citizenship in a free and progressive society are needed breadth of vision, balanced judgement, understanding of the problems confronting other individuals and groups and the whole society, tolerance, and a sense of the values which give meaning and purpose to all the rest. This is the case for insisting on the need for liberal adult education to supplement, not to replace, the specialized training which must now dominate to an increasing extent the earlier years of our lives. And it is this aspect of education which belongs necessarily to the adult stage in the life of the individual, first because there is not enough time for all that it involves at any earlier stage, but also because this kind of education demands the background of experience and the maturity of mind which come only with adult years. We have now reached a stage in the development of advanced societies when adult education, no longer merely a substitute in later life for missed earlier opportunities, has come to be an essential part of the educational system of a democratic State. It is needed because of the necessary growth in other forms of education, because of the possibilities which advancing knowledge has opened up to us, and it needs to be fostered *pari passu* with the great efforts which are now being devoted to technical education.

There is one other characteristic of our society which has an important bearing upon the future of adult education. Again because of the advance of knowledge, the span of useful life has been prolonged while birth-rates have progressively fallen, so that the proportion of older to younger elements of the population has enormously increased during the past century. But an ageing population tends to become less adaptable and less open to new ideas, unless intellectual interests can be kept alive throughout the active years of adult life. The rapid growth of knowledge has hastened the tempo of social change, and adaptability in this situation has become a necessary condition of survival. Adult education again provides the only possible solution of this problem. Older generations, without the stimulus of continued learning, lose touch with recent advances in knowledge, and not only resent the introduction of new ideas and new techniques, but also lose touch and sympathy with younger generations, so that the gap between them is widened and co-operation for common ends becomes more difficult.

So far, the need for adult education has been justified on largely practical grounds in the light of the requirements of modern society. But that is by no means the final word. It has to be justified also in terms of human need, the right of the individual to live the best life of which he is capable and to be something more than a functional unit in a mass society. For large numbers of people, the educative and satisfying quality of skilled manual work has been lost, and more and more people get their living by monotonous routine work on production lines or by standing guard over largely automatic machines. The gain from mechanization and automation, to compensate for loss of interest in work, takes the form of higher standards of remuneration for less effort, less responsibility, and increased leisure. But unless the creative interest which many once found in work can be enlarged and transferred to the occupations of leisure, both the individual and the community are poorer for the change. Monotonous labour itself provides opportunity for reflection. Some may find their interest in trade union and consultative activities arising out of work; for the majority, however, it is the interests created in leisure which can fructify in the mind during the routine daily round. Differences of occupation can no longer in the future justify differences of culture, and it is these rather than different income levels, in a society moving rapidly towards greater economic equality, which will perpetuate class divisions. The remedy must lie in the cultivation of creative leisure-time interests and activities, through adult education in the widest sense, for the enrichment of the life of the individual and of the society to which he belongs.

This problem of the uses of leisure has become more urgent, not only because hours of labour have been progressively reduced and will be reduced still further as pro-



ductivity is increased, but also because more and more people in an ageing population retire from active work while they are still capable of living useful and satisfying lives and contributing in other ways to the service of the community. Enforced leisure in later life, without the interests to fill it, is one of the tragedies of modern society.

#### THE TASKS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE MODERN AGE

Adult education, as we have seen, has had various purposes in the past, many of them irrelevant to the real needs and potentialities of adult life, owing to the poverty hitherto of our educational system and the failure of education to catch up with the requirements of advancing knowledge. That situation still obtains to some extent even in the most advanced societies; and in the still backward countries of the world, history is repeating itself on a vaster scale, and failure to solve the urgent problem of education is fraught with greater danger as the onset of change increases in rapidity and the numbers affected are multiplied. Thus adult education must continue, to a greater or less extent according to the degree of educational advancement of the community concerned, to carry the burden of elementary training and preparation for changing vocational requirements until these are taken over completely by adequate arrangements for education during the periods of childhood and adolescence. But all this should not blind us to the real purpose and tasks of adult education, as the final stage in the education of the citizen of a free society, a stage which should continue throughout the active life of the individual.

Let us assume that we have, in fact and not merely in name, achieved something which can be described as secondary education for all, followed by further education, either full-time or part-time, beyond the school-leaving age as at present envisaged; that that is followed by more advanced training for all who are capable of it and who are needed to serve the community—in research for the further advancement of knowledge; as teachers at all levels; as technologists, technicians and skilled workers generally; as managers; as administrators in national and local government, trade unions and similar associations, banking, insurance and commerce; and as higher professional and social workers in many different walks of life. What then follows? Many more than at present will have received their training as full-time students in universities and other places of higher learning; others, again in greater numbers, will have combined part-time specialized study with work. Their education, as human beings and as citizens, cannot be complete and may be just beginning when their specialized training is ended. That is equally true—and it may well be that any difference in the need or the possibilities is more apparent than real—of those whom circumstance or choice destined for the less exacting kinds of work.

All at this stage will be entering upon their duties and their heritage as responsible citizens of a democratic society—that is, a society in which there is freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom to elect the government of their choice by democratic methods, and freedom to create, administer and control their own voluntary organizations for the achievement of common ends. But we may well ask, of what use is freedom without the ability to use it? What meaning can there be in freedom of thought or freedom of speech if people are unable to think to any purpose and have nothing significant to say? What value is there in the freedom to elect governments by democratic methods if the electors are unable to understand the issues before them? And what is the advantage of freedom of association if there is no clear understanding of common ends? There is one further question, perhaps the most important: how can these freedoms continue to operate in our complex social organization of today and how can their continuance be ensured? They will last only as long as they are compatible with ordered progress, and so long as people value them themselves and tolerate them in others. 'Democracy and liberalism are only compatible, can only work together, when it so happens that all, or the great majority,

of those enjoying their democratic right of suffrage also share the common denominator of liberal principles.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to forget that democratic institutions may be used to destroy democracy.

It is with the liberal principles on which our society is based and which are necessary to its survival that adult education must be largely concerned. But these principles exist not merely in theory; they are also expressed in action, in the movements of history, in the shaping of institutions, in attitudes of mind, and in the relations which exist between individuals and groups within and beyond our own boundaries. The key to them lies, not in narrow vocational studies, however necessary they may be and however much they may be made to lead on to larger questions, but in those which concern man as a human being and as a free and responsible member of the larger society of the nation and the world. It is not sufficient, however, to think of what is termed a liberal education merely as one which is proper for the free citizen of a static society; rather must we think of it as one which sets men free—free from their own pre-occupations, free from preconceptions and prejudices, free to serve their generation to the limit of enlarged abilities and to enter with their fellows into the creative enjoyment of the fuller life which now, with increased knowledge and greater power, has become a possibility for all who are capable of sharing it.

It is not necessary here to enter into the somewhat barren controversy as to the subjects of study which best contribute to the purposes to be served by adult education. What is 'liberal' depends as much upon the methods and purpose of the particular study as upon the nature of the subject. The study of science in the modern world can fire the imagination and raise the larger questions concerning the destiny of man equally with the study of history, philosophy or politics. It is possible that the requirements of adult education may lead to some new synthesis of knowledge: for how in these days can we begin to understand the sweep of history unless we take account of the discoveries and methods of science; or without history and the illumination of literature, how is it possible to comprehend the nature of man and society? Moreover, the requirements of enlightened citizenship involve not merely increasing knowledge but also the qualities which are the result of continued learning. Enlightenment 'consists, not merely in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas which are rushing in upon it. It is the action of a formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquisitions; it is a making of the objects of our knowledge subjectively our own, . . . a digestion of what we receive into the substance of our previous state of thought. . . . There is no enlargement, unless there be a comparison of ideas one with another, as they come before the mind, and a systematizing of them'.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is wrong to suppose that adult education must be exclusively concerned with the so-called social sciences, although it is important that many more than at present—especially those whose interest is in public affairs and who, in their particular setting, are influential in the creation of public opinion—should understand the nature of the forces which operate in our society, the conditions which secure its economic foundations, and the political arrangements which preserve the right balance between stability and desirable social change. For many others, whose intellectual interests lie in other directions, what is needed, in addition to the basic knowledge which all should possess, is flexibility of mind, ability to judge objectively between conflicting ideas, and willingness to examine and reach firm conclusions on matters in which they are involved as citizens. These qualities and abilities are not confined to those who choose particular social studies rather than some other intellectual discipline.

The demand for adult education should spring from all the situations in which

1. P. Worsthorpe, 'Democracy versus Liberty', in *Encounter*, January 1956.

2. Newman, *Idea of a University*, Discourse VI, p. 134, Longmans, Green & Co., 1893 ed.



men and women find themselves, as individuals and in their group relations. Interest in the wider political relationships normally comes with greater maturity in the middle and later years of life, and one contributory influence determining the high average age of adult students in Britain and some other countries has undoubtedly been the neglect of those other interests which are dominant in the earlier years of adult life. When basic education and specialized vocational training are ended, most people are involved progressively in preparations for marriage, home-making and the bringing-up of children. Here again, as in the larger social pattern, our educational systems concentrate on the practical, utilitarian aspects of home life, there are ample opportunities for acquiring skill in the domestic crafts, the care of children, home decoration, gardening and the like. But when it comes to the less tangible aspects of family life, the relations between husband and wife and between parents and children, the pre-school education of the child, the psychological factors which make or mar the home atmosphere and thus determine to a large extent the character and quality of the rising generation, we have little to offer. It is left in the main to marriage guidance counsellors to give what help they can when the marriage is on the point of breaking down. Yet underlying these matters are possibilities of study no less exacting and no less liberal than those which underlie the successful functioning of the larger society of the nation.

This is but one example of neglected interests of younger adult life which might be exploited in continuing adult education and would lead on, through what has hitherto been an educationally barren period, to the more mature studies of later years.

It may be said that not all are capable of disciplined academic study, or have the desire or will to pursue it outside the day-to-day tasks of earning a living. All that need be claimed is that many more than at present appear to have the capacity for continued learning and potential interest in it, and that the foreseeable increase in the numbers might transform our society. It is not only they themselves who would be affected by increased knowledge and greater power to enjoy and to serve; they would represent so many new points of influence, changing by example the attitudes of those with whom they came into contact.

This does not mean that adult education, given the possibility of extension as earlier education is improved and new interests are tapped, is still only for the relatively few. When we think of it not only as education for the better functioning of our society but also as education for leisure, its possible scope is vastly increased. Adult education must concern itself with the quality of life in society. In spite of higher standards of living and greater leisure, we have reason to be appalled by the ugliness which we have produced and the lack of grace in living. Just as the arts of government are no longer the monopoly of a privileged class, but are now, with increasing leisure, the prerogative of all, so the cultivation of the creative arts need no longer be confined to those who earn a precarious living by them or have the means to follow their bent without counting the cost. Adult education may be the means of converting what would otherwise be wasted time into creative leisure, capable through the release of undiscovered abilities of contributing to the enrichment of the common life. The worker-poet or novelist, the routine factory operative who finds his satisfaction in the practice of music, art or drama, the neighbourhood group which contributes to the beautifying of our sordid urban surroundings, are no longer to be regarded as isolated examples standing out against the general apathy, but as portents of the new society if we have the will and the means to achieve it.

There is one other task which falls to adult education because, in the nature of things, it satisfies a recurring need of adult life. The rapid advances in knowledge and practice, and the changed conditions which result from them, create the need for a constant renewal of knowledge on the part of those whose training was completed at an earlier stage. This is the one case for a continuation of vocational training in

the later years of adult life. It represents an important but limited task, and one which does not vitiate but rather reinforces the claim that the main function of adult education is to provide for the adult population the opportunity to enter upon the wider field of liberal and humane studies as an offset to the cramping influence of restrictive training and as a means to better living.

#### ENDS AND MEANS

The burden of this book has been to show that we have been developing through the centuries a conception of adult education which makes it a necessary and continuing feature of advanced societies, dominated as they are by the growth of knowledge, subject to constant change, and depending more and more for their stability and future progress on a broadening of the basis of understanding and greater adaptability among the adult population as a whole. For the first time, in the light of other educational advances, it has become possible to see clearly the real purposes of adult education, those which belong to it because they cannot be served in any other way. We know much more than we did about the possibilities and techniques of adult learning; and we have created the machinery, both voluntary and official, through which adult education can be provided. But everywhere the means are lacking to make possible the further advance which is necessary.

In Britain, whose example has inspired the rest of the world in the past, a spectacular increase in the provision made by the government for technical education has been accompanied during the past few years by a standstill of expenditure on liberal adult education. This must mean a deterioration both in the amount and in the quality of the work, since rising overhead costs on an inflationary economy leave less to be spent on work in the field, and the number of centres can only be maintained by reducing the average duration of courses. This moment has been chosen also to insist on higher fees from students, while the fees paid to part-time tutors lag far behind the rising cost of living. If there is anything at all in the argument of this chapter, the present policy is incredibly shortsighted. More technical education requires a parallel extension of liberal adult education if, to put it at the lowest level, more technical power is not to be neutralized, or even made more dangerous, by a failure of human understanding and adaptability. At the higher level, we may well ask what is the purpose of this tremendous technical advance unless to build the kind of society which depends at least as much upon intellectual and spiritual as upon material resources. Yet we spend, as from the central government, many millions a year on technical education, with plans to spend much more, as against less than £400,000 a year on liberal adult education through universities and voluntary associations.

The picture elsewhere is no more encouraging and, in many countries, much less so. In some, the idea of providing for liberal adult education has hardly begun to take root; in others, it is regarded as a purely voluntary activity which is expected to pay for itself. In vast underdeveloped areas of the world, the resources available are insufficient to enable education to catch up with widespread illiteracy, let alone anything beyond. Is it not time that the nations of the world, especially those which wield great influence, adopted the same measures and employed comparable resources in combating ignorance as they do at present in preparation for a possible world war which would destroy our civilization. Ignorance is relative to the need for knowledge in the particular community, and no country in the world, however apparently advanced it may be, can afford to be satisfied with the cultural level of the mass of its own people.

It is clear that adult education must be organized at different levels according to the nature of the need, both within particular countries and as between different countries. There has been much discussion in recent years as to the part which the universities should play in adult education. The answer is a simple and straightforward one. The universities as teaching institutions have a special responsibility for



making available to all who are capable of receiving it such teaching as falls within their province, at the quality which is proper to a university. They should not be called upon to teach outside their walls subjects which do not and cannot properly fall within the internal university curriculum. If, as may happen where other agencies for adult education are lacking, the universities try to do everything, they merely weaken their ability to carry out the extra-mural tasks of which they alone are capable. For the mainly recreational activities which are now generally, if somewhat confusingly, described as adult education, local education authorities, where they exist, are the most appropriate agencies; and where this machinery is not available, or has only limited scope, representative regional councils, as they have developed in Australia, provide a satisfactory alternative. It is also possible that this form of organization might undertake the provision of courses at a lower level than that proper to the university, acting on behalf of voluntary associations and local education authorities, and in collaboration with the universities.

As, however, the educational institutions of a nation overtake the needs at each successive stage, more and more of its adult citizens will look to the universities for opportunities of continued learning, and the kinds of learning in which they are interested will be increasingly those in which the universities are intimately concerned. For these, only the universities are likely to have the necessary teaching resources; only they, if their relation to the political State and to powerful influences within the State is on the right footing of freedom, can ensure the open forum of free discussion which is essential to the objective treatment of those matters of belief and interpretation which enter so largely into the stuff of adult education. But this battle for freedom of university teaching is never finally won, and it still has to be fought in some countries. It is outside the walls that this issue is most effectively joined, and success in that field is a guarantee of the integrity of university teaching generally.

It is in the teaching function that the modern universities at least have shown their greatest weakness. The retailing of pre-digested information through lectures, with the needs of examinations in view, tends to kill the inspiration which should come from the close contact of mind with mind—the intermingling of knowledge and experience with the imaginative curiosity of the student. There can be nothing but gain to the universities as a whole from the increasing participation of university teachers in extra-mural adult education, and this is particularly true in the liberal studies, including the humanities, the social sciences and the pure sciences, which are tending more and more inside the universities to be overshadowed by the technologies and professional training. May this not be the one means of restoring to the universities the function of providing for the wider pursuit of knowledge, for the satisfaction to be found in the pursuit, and for ends other than those which are concerned with individual professional advancement?

Without a change of heart on the part of governments and universities, the resources both of finance and of personnel will be totally inadequate for the needs of liberal adult education; for so long as extra-mural teaching is regarded as merely peripheral to the universities' main functions, or in some cases supplementary to them, its proportion of available university resources will be relatively small and may have to be divided between liberal and vocational extra-mural teaching to the disadvantage of the former. And if the total available resources are less than adequate for all the purposes for which they are required, it is those which are considered to be less important which will be starved. For this reason, it is necessary not only that the total means should be greatly increased, but also that the provision made for the liberal studies should be safeguarded against what is likely to be a considerable demand for the extension of extra-mural teaching of a professional and vocational character. There should be separate machinery for these two different purposes within the general extra-mural arrangements.

It is not too much to say that, unless the universities can be increasingly involved

in adult education as the need grows and larger numbers become capable of profiting by their teaching, the ideal of enlightened democracy must be regarded as unattainable, and it may well be that totalitarianism, by whatever name it may be called, will in the long run be the only alternative. But while experience affirms that the initiative must lie with the universities, they alone cannot create the organized system of adult education which every nation needs. Their primary function is to teach and to provide and train the teachers. They also are best equipped to research into the problems and methods of adult education. They can lead the way in providing model centres in which some part of the work can be carried on and new experiments can be initiated; and no university can be fully equipped for extra-mural teaching and experiment without at least one residential centre for adult education, to which men and women can come for continuous periods of study and reflection, where students of different interests can meet together, and where the contact between them and teachers of the university can be close and mutually stimulating.

The response to their efforts depends, however, upon a much wider organization. Adult education is necessarily a voluntary activity; it embraces a great variety of interests and activities and therefore cannot be planned on any narrow or sectional basis. Nor can it be confined within the limits of official programmes, for it must be related to the freely expressed demands of those who are to participate in it. Not the least valuable part of it is its self-determining character, for the planning of educational activities by those who seek education is itself an exercise in democracy. The form of this wider organization must, of course, depend upon the particular social background. In Britain, there is a multiplicity of associations and societies from which the demand for adult education can spring, some national and others local in their scope. If they could come together regionally, their power to stimulate demand and to provide the right setting for serious adult studies would be greatly increased, since the day has gone by when any one organization can meet the whole of the need. In some countries, the existing pattern needs to become more representative of student interests and more democratic in its form. In others, beginning *ab initio*, it is possible to start with something like a People's Educational Association, free from any political or class flavour, and adaptable in its local organization to the circumstances of each particular community. The purpose of associations of this kind should be to create a new educational ferment in the societies to which they belong, to serve as the channels through which demand can be directed to the appropriate sources of supply, to ascertain the needs which exist and to ensure that they are satisfied, and to create a public opinion which will be as insistent upon the vital importance of a liberally educated adult community as upon the needs of technical education.

Adult education will take many forms and will include many different levels. There are no rigid dividing lines, however, and simple individual beginnings may lead to great achievements. It needs no apology to suggest that, in a society which depends so much upon the conquest of higher knowledge and upon the intellectual abilities and moral qualities of its members, it is the higher studies, which the universities alone can promote and foster, that must be the special concern of adult education in the future. These will need, in the best sense, an institutional setting. 'Education is a thing of the spirit. But we cannot educate . . . without giving the spirit a body, and the body a skeleton.'<sup>1</sup> That is as true of adult education as it is of the earlier education to which this referred. The adult stage of education is a continuation of that which preceded it. It falls into different grades according to the interests and abilities of those who take part in it. More and more, with progress in culture and civilization, it will come to be continued education for the educated—for the university graduate

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1. Lord Lindsay of Birker, in the Foreword to *The Aims of Education*, by A. N. Whitehead, new edition, Williams & Norgate, 1950.



as well as for those who left school for work and chose part-time rather than full-time continued education to follow. Already the appropriate institutions are beginning to take shape, tentatively and hindered by inadequate means of support, and already they contain the promise that, in a wiser and more spacious age, they will grow in number and diversity until, in their most developed form, they will take their place not unworthily as centres of advanced university studies. Nearly thirty years ago, one of the most devoted friends of adult education, Lord Haldane, writing of the great hope of a new renaissance which should follow the years of war, referred to the developments taking place in one particular area and quoted a contemporary account of them which ended with the following words: 'These developments, and experiments which are being made in other parts of the country, suggest that, in all the more important places, and indeed in many smaller places, there will be some community centre which will be the home of intellectual interests, and, linked with the University, will form part of a greater and nobler University in the future.'<sup>1</sup> Of the faith which bound us together in those hopeful years, Lord Haldane wrote: 'Our common principle was one of faith in the effect of higher education on democracy. We did not indeed think that such education was everything. There were other phases of mental activity, such as religion and the love of the beautiful, which were not less important. But we thought that people whose minds were freed from the fetters of ignorance would develop these other phases more readily.'<sup>2</sup>

This faith and these hopes seem now to have suffered an eclipse—it is to be hoped one which is passing, because we must either revive them or perish as democratic societies. No one can study the development of adult education in this and other countries—perhaps, we may claim, especially in Britain—without realizing that there is, innate in the people, both the desire and the capacity to know, to appreciate, and to practise those qualities of mind and spirit which belong to the good life in society, hindered in their full expression by unfavourable environments, by false national ideals and by lack of vision on the part of those who wield authority in the modern State. Looking back to a more liberal age, we know also that it lies within the power of governments to give purpose to these aspirations by providing the setting within which they can be realized and the means to their realization.

## TRAINING BOOK ILLUSTRATORS IN SOUTH ASIA

JAN THOMAEUS

*We reproduce below some extracts from the report of Mr. Thomaeus who was assigned—in the framework of Unesco's Regional Project for the Production of Reading Materials for New Literates—to South Asia for a period of six months (October 1957 to April 1958) to advise on the training of book illustrators.*

After the Unesco seminar in Rangoon, courses were held in Colombo, Delhi, Bombay, Lahore and Dacca. Most of the trainees had had some practical experience in this field. The number attending each course was between about ten (Colombo and Lahore) and twenty-seven (Bombay).

1. *Adult Education in the East Midlands, 1920-26*, University College, Nottingham, 1926. Quoted in Lord Haldane, *Autobiography*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1929, pp. 303-4.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-5.

Wherever I conducted classes, I found that there was no lack of gifted artists. The obvious lack of well-illustrated books cannot, therefore, be attributed to a scarcity of talent.

#### ILLUSTRATORS NEED A THOROUGH TRAINING

Time and again I found a lack of understanding of the importance of lay-out and design, and the accuracy needed therein. An Indian author showed me some of his books and told me how difficult it had been for him to get them to look as he wanted. The publisher and the printer had not understood at all why he was so keen on the arrangement of a certain portion of the text or on having a small piece of decoration at a particular spot. I have noticed this both in books, which sometimes hardly seemed to have been planned at all, and also in the classes. So many trainees seemed to be wondering: 'Is it really important for a minor detail to be placed exactly there?'

This attitude is not necessarily peculiar to Asia. I have found it in Sweden, too, among very young people, apt to be impatient and to confuse precision with pedantry. But whereas in Sweden, and in the whole of the Western world precision in books and advertising is the norm, in Asia it is the exception. Consequently, the artist in the West gets frequent confirmation that such a thing really is important, whereas the artist in Asia must undergo a long and thorough training himself before being able really to appreciate this, to be conscious of it, and confident of his analysis of bad or unsatisfactory work around him.

Another essential point, also common to the whole of this part of Asia is the lack of a supporting public. The publishers themselves are full of complaints on this score.

Comics seem to be very popular in Asia, as they are in Europe and the United States of America. But while in the West there are at least some good alternatives, for example good children's books, Asia is much poorer in this respect. The problem is not limited to reading materials for children. The small books, which the adult education institutions are distributing, on hygiene, healthy food, cattle disease and so on, are low-priced publications. Yet, in spite of the fact that they are very cheap, the competition of the comics is still keen. For many people, the comics with their day-dreams are more attractive than these small books on daily practical problems.

Recognizing this, some Asian publishers have been trying to make use of the popular form of the comics for more serious purposes. The analogy in the West is the 'translation' of classics into 'comic' form. For example at Jamia Millia, Delhi, an admirable institution from many points of view, plans have been made to try to use the popular form of the comic with a more instructive type of content in certain adult education programmes.

In my opinion, this unprejudiced approach may be excellent. But, of course, one should be conscious of the long-term risks involved. The comic form is often highly standardized and impersonal. Furthermore, form and contents cannot be separated quite so easily and arbitrarily.

If educationists and publishers are not conscious of these risks, the comic type of publication may become an even greater danger than it is at present.

#### METHODS OF WORK

Because of the limited time available, the course had to be rather sketchy. In an attempt to avoid a superficial approach, I decided not to cover too large a number of subjects, but simply to lay special emphasis on some basic and elementary aspects.

At first, composition, combination of forms and distribution of space were tackled. For this purpose we used paper-cuts (*collages*). After a short introductory lecture, the trainees were simply asked to make a composition; it did not matter whether the forms were representative or not.



When this task was finished, the results were pinned up on a board. All the trainees then gathered together and each composition was discussed. If somebody had a suggestion to make, for example that a particular part was too big, that something should be removed, or that something should be added, he had to illustrate this at once, with pieces of paper. In this way these questions were given definite form and concrete answers were suggested.

A particular advantage of the use of the paper-cut is that it takes very little time. Alterations to paintings or drawings take a much longer time.

This exercise was repeated: at first in black, then in black and one colour, and finally in as many colours as the trainees wanted.

In the discussion that followed, the trainees looked at the compositions only from the formal point of view. For some of them this was very difficult. They were so accustomed to a realistic style that they could only judge a composition if it was realistic, or if its form suggested literary associations. But also for this very reason the exercise was extremely useful. There were always some who understood what was required and who were able to demonstrate it practically to their companions, making them realize that the subject was not merely something new and strange presented by a stranger. Sometimes very lively discussions arose.

Those who protested most vehemently against compositions with non-representative forms were precisely those who stuck to an old-fashioned style in their own work; i.e., the nineteenth-century European style. I did not like to criticize this directly—the students should in my opinion work in a style of their own—but this style was often bad in two ways. First, the compositions were often weak—the artist had been thinking too much of the literary content, and not enough of the formal values. Secondly, the illustrations often had half-tones, which are sometimes difficult to print. However, these weaknesses could be criticized more generally and indirectly in the analyses of the work of the artists themselves.

After this, we experimented with different kinds of texture. For printing we used pieces of cloth, for example, pieces of mosquito net, towel, nylon and so on. We also used potato-cuts, onions, leaves and many other things. Texture-effects were also obtained by special treatment of the paint. The trainees were encouraged to invent and combine in as many ways as possible, and they usually enjoyed this very much.

The next task was a composition using letters, in which these different techniques could be used. This was the last 'pure' exercise. After this, whether working on covers or inside illustrations, for children or for newly literate adults, the artists always had to keep in mind the type of public their work was intended for. From then on, they could no longer use abstract forms; everything had to be absolutely clear and easily understandable. Some of the artists who had enjoyed the first experimental stage very much, found this demand for strict realism less congenial, while others, who had not felt quite at home with free experimenting, welcomed this later stage as solid ground under their feet.

From then on, they also had to think of the possibilities and conditions of reproduction. Definite instructions were given as to size, and the number of colours (generally a very limited number) to be used. Different techniques were taught: for example, different kinds of scraperboard and dry-brush work, and painting with black only on different overlays, in order to get more suitable results for printing.

Each finished task was always followed by a common discussion of the results. Sometimes these discussions were rather lengthy and not all the remarks and objections were of real interest. But I believe that this procedure is a valuable one. Such discussions are 'democratic'—the teacher is not the only judge—and they are also important for the atmosphere within the working group. One weakness here was that gifted artists sometimes severely criticized their less gifted companions with the risk of destroying their confidence instead of encouraging them to go on. However, in a small group, and with more time, it should be easier to avoid such difficulties.

Visits to printing presses were arranged, and the different printing processes were demonstrated. Visits to museums, and film shows acted as a stimulus (the films by Norman McLaren, which were quite unknown to most of these artists, were particularly appreciated). In addition, there were demonstrations of books, both actual examples of well illustrated books, and books on illustration, typography and design (borrowed from the USIS Library and the British Council). I also gave some short lectures, but most of the time was devoted to practical work.

#### TRAINING OF ASIAN ILLUSTRATORS

As I mentioned earlier, there is an obvious need for good illustrators. In all of these countries there are many gifted artists, but they need thorough training.

At the present time—if I may judge from my own observations and the reports of others—such training is probably better in a number of schools in the West, than in any school in this part of Asia. But to send artists abroad would have a rather limited effect, since the opportunity could be offered only to a few. If any real impact is to be made on the situation, it would be far more effective to establish an Asian school.

In the section entitled 'Methods of work' I deliberately described in some detail the very first exercises with paper-cuts, despite the fact that comparatively little time was actually devoted to this technique. My intention was to try and give some idea of the type of method I believe in. It may perhaps not be strictly exact to describe this way of working as the 'Bauhaus' method.<sup>1</sup> I myself have never worked in a Bauhaus school. Nevertheless I have heard and read about this movement, and in my work in Sweden I have tried out a number of ideas along the same lines. For this reason and for the sake of convenience, I shall refer to these methods as Bauhaus methods. The more I use them in Asia the more I believe in them. They may certainly be of use in Europe and in the United States—in Asia they are exactly what is needed, to get away from the nineteenth-century style that still dominates art education today. Yet these methods seem to be very little known in the East. For this reason the teacher in what I shall call the 'Asian institute of design' ought to be familiar with them.

#### AN ASIAN INSTITUTE OF DESIGN

The basic Bauhaus training is equally applicable to all kinds of artists and artisans. This being so, I should like to take the opportunity here of asking whether such an institute might not also undertake training courses in handicrafts? I am fully aware that my opinion concerning Asian handicraft has not been asked for, but since the basic methods I am recommending are so outstandingly suitable for all kinds of arts and crafts, I cannot but wonder if a combination might not be of value.

As I am very interested in handicrafts, and especially textiles, I have tried to get to know the situation in each of these four countries I have visited. Everywhere I have found that the best work was always that done with old design and old colour schemes; the bad work was always that done with the new forms.

Even in India, for example, where the government seems to be very interested in handicrafts and where there are excellent 'government emporiums', 'cottage industries' and 'Khadi village industries' still offering many beautiful things, it is obvious that on the whole handicraft skills are deteriorating. The old assurance and the old skills are disappearing.

I have spoken to many people about this apparent decline and most of them have

1. The Bauhaus was originally a school in Germany, in the 1920s. The main theme of the Bauhaus artists was functional design—design to fit in with the machine process. After Hitler's *Machtergreifung* in 1933 the artists had to escape; some went to the United States, where they started an 'institute of design'.



agreed with me. But nobody has been able to tell me what to do about it. 'People now want nylon, and these modern Western materials', I have been told. But this is exactly what Bauhaus has been working with: modern materials. There is no reason why we should not be able to get just as good results with these modern materials as were obtained with former materials. At the same time, of course, the old designs should be studied, and no doubt many of them could be used. But they should be used consciously to suit the new materials and new conditions, for even if we admire the old things, we cannot continue just copying them. They were created for a different period and for different social conditions.

## THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN PERU

*The National Central University of San Marcos (Lima) organized a seminar last year on the problem of adult literacy and education in connexion with the plan prepared by the Ministry of Education. The following two papers are taken from the pamphlet published on the subject.<sup>1</sup>*

### THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEM OF ILLITERACY

by CARLOS VELIT

Our faculty's attitude in supporting the national literary campaign is dictated by the logic of the situation. We view it as a civic and cultural crusade in keeping with the essential spirit of the university as a social institution; for a university which cultivates only cold speculation or a pedantic love of learning for its own sake sins against its true historical import, its essential mission. The professors and students of San Marcos play a part in this campaign through the formulation of principles, the direction of their teaching programme and the practical results achieved. In this way it is hoped to carry out the educational aim for which the university stands: to place itself at the service of the country in order to help it solve one of its most difficult and all-pervading problems.

We consider that the problem of education is not limited or exclusive: it is all-embracing, for it involves economic, political, legal, social, health, racial, linguistic and other factors, to such an extent that it would be true to say, with Keyserling, that no human problem can be solved without education.

In planning a scientific solution, it is essential to adopt an organic criterion, a comprehensive yardstick, whereby the various causal factors can be analysed and unified solutions worked out, for there is no guarantee that piece-meal remedies will prove of lasting effect. We therefore present a few ideas to throw light on this pressing national problem. This will be the sincerest form of constructive co-operation in the national effort to wipe out illiteracy and its harmful consequences.

The first question we have to examine is the purpose of the campaign: to make people literate. In a strict sense, this means to render its subjects capable of carrying out the

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1. Ministry of Education, Rural Education and Literacy Department, Peru, *The University and the National Literacy and Educational Plan for Young People and Adults*. Lima, 1957.

mental functions of reading and writing. But this definition takes insufficient account of the educational and civic objectives of a campaign of such vital importance. Reading is something more than mere mechanical ease in recognizing words from the standpoint of their formal structure or basic meaning. It involves understanding and interpreting the author's message, reacting and behaving in accordance with that interpretation, acquiring the ingrained habit of reading and understanding its educational value in human life. It was well said by Unamuno that reading does not mean learning something but becoming something.

All too often, literacy efforts have been confined to teaching people to read and write, forgetting that those subjects are means and not ends. To be able to read is to have a new door opened on a world of endless possibilities, it marks a stage on the journey but is not the true goal. If the illiterate is given the intellectual equipment whereby a way of advancement is placed at his feet, it is only right to supplement that aptitude by providing the general development facilities to match his initial preparation. For this reason, Unesco has proclaimed fundamental education as one of its objectives, for the campaign against illiteracy is only one aspect of the harder and more strenuous fight for the social and economic advancement of mankind. What fundamental education seeks to do is to produce integrated human beings and renew society through education. Proceeding from the proposition that every problem is in essence an educational one, education can be regarded as the basic and final solution.

Every literacy worker in particular, and every State in general, should view the problem of eliminating illiteracy from the following three main aspects of the process: (a) the present aspect, as represented by existing teaching techniques; (b) the future aspect, meaning the organization of the factors calculated to ensure the progressive intellectual development of new literates; and (c) the past aspect, original or induced, meaning the factors which conspire against popular culture in the hope of benefiting from the ignorance of the working masses.

Contemporary illiteracy can be mastered by efficient educative action directed by a qualified staff. In view of the ubiquity of the evil, it is essential that the campaign be organized as a national movement—a general crusade of a continuing nature.

Our fellow-countrymen who succeed in becoming literate will at the same time change their habits and aim at a higher standard of living. In addition to books, they need the means of improving their general living conditions. Very often, an illiterate is illiterate because the circumstances of his life have never required of him literacy. If we teach him to read and write and leave his primitive living conditions unchanged, he may relapse into illiteracy or acquire a degree of understanding carrying with it a purely nominal extension of his horizon. It would therefore be in the general interest to pay attention to the material and spiritual side of the literacy campaign so that the indigenous population feels the need of literacy and does not accept it as a flattering attention which has no bearing on his own affairs and whose real point he cannot properly grasp. It is a postulate of sociology that the illiteracy rate is also an index of poverty and of a low standard of living. The higher the standard, the lower the rate.

Illiteracy has to be torn out by the roots. A literacy campaign which left the causal factors of that national problem untouched would have no lasting effect. One of those factors is the feudal structure of our land-ownership system, whose essential hallmarks are the latifundia and serfdom. It is not held to be in the big land-owner's economic interests for the peasants to be educated. A reading man is a thinking man; a thinking man is a man who forms a judgement and he who forms a judgement ends by acting in defence of his lawful rights. Thus the problem of illiteracy is not only an educational one; it is basically social and economic. Hence, these aspects should be the essential co-ordinates of any literacy campaign.

The life of a democracy demands the support of the great mass of the nation. There is no guarantee that a system of liberty will endure unless it rests firmly on the shoulders of an educated citizenry jealous of its inalienable rights. For this reason, education



should be the prime concern of a system of government rooted in the masses. The money necessary for educational work is a safe investment in a brighter future. Where popular culture is concerned, it is not a question of how much it will cost to produce it but what it will cost to be without it. Let us absorb the truth of this statement and be guided in our social conduct by Sarmiento's famous dictum 'If the people is sovereign, it must be trained to sovereignty.'

## LITERACY, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

by JOSÉ JIMÉNEZ BORJA

The enthusiasm of the organizers of this seminar has compelled me to supplement the talk I gave on the subject at the Faculty of Education on 17 May last by the present synthesis of the basic ideas which guided me on that occasion.

1. Literacy implies the establishment of a link between the man of limited, simple, sensory culture and the luminous sources of intellectual culture—vast and complex like the rest of the human heritage which are incorporated in book lore. The former is confined to the perceptual accumulation of the small amount of disorganized material which can be heard, seen or felt within the range of a lifetime or of direct, oral transmission; while the latter is enlarged by the world's treasury of scientific and philosophical thought to which the various generations, countries and tongues have so splendidly contributed.

2. Let us deal first with languages for culture and language are synonymous. Whatever man conceives of he expresses: there is no true conception without expression—a fact of which the experts who base themselves on Decroly's observation, association and expression stages are aware. Language is simply the detailed record of culture and a view of life. One school of anthropological psychology has studied the mentality of primitive man through the medium of his language and has found that for every one of its abstract nouns or causal and final forms of speech, there is a corresponding category of understanding; and the same process is observed in the intellectual development of the child. One method of establishing the child's mental age is based entirely on vocabulary levels, on the same principle as with communicating vessels.

3. The illiterate is a man suffering from linguistic disabilities. He knows only the words of the spoken language which are simple, worn down by use, handmaids of the visible, specific, direct and critical only in a rudimentary sense. It is the impoverished domain in which everything is large or small, black or white, beautiful or ugly, good or bad, happy or sad. It knows nothing of that higher sphere of a chosen syntax, of derivatives venerable, expressive or *nuancés*, which are to be found in books. It is unfamiliar, for example, with that noble family of technical terms of Greek origin like 'heterogeneous', 'proselyte', 'metamorphosis' or 'metropolis', which the modern reader readily absorbs and with which he gives his regular conservation an intellectual tinge. Although the illiterate may appropriate some of these words, he can never employ them with the aptness and mastery of the man who has seen them written within their proper context.

4. If we now pass from simple word lists to the construction of phrases, clauses and sentences, we find that familiar speech is governed by a system of short and balanced utterances, usually linked by conjunctions, in correlation with similarly brief, disjointed and summarily connected mental processes. The illiterate is conditioned by this mute and unsubtle cerebral mechanism, which in any case suffices him for his empirical cognition of the world.

The man whom literacy supplies with the key to universal culture, on the other hand, is used to a more complicated and closer knit linguistic structure. In any written

composition, there is a hierarchical order from above to below, a descending gradation (this is especially true of Spanish). First come the sentences which are more general and broader in significance, followed by the complementary and analytical sentences and the minor concluding ones. This implies a discipline of thought—a selective and hence a critical function. The sentences are put together, with one subordinated to another, in groups and convolutions reminiscent of the goldsmith's art and are none other than manifestations of the liveliness, acuteness and wealth of the ideas concerned. The conquest of reading is thus the conquest of an unsuspected world of higher thought and level of human quality.

5. This task of raising the individual who constitutes the basic category in any democratic country, is one which falls squarely on the State and its citizens. States which have a true awareness of the masses and the intention of producing a historical change include universal literacy among their major projects, planned stage-by-stage until its final achievement. We have the example of Japan, on emerging from feudalism to modern life and seeking to rank among the world powers; of the Scandinavian countries since the end of the nineteenth century; of Russia, striving, after 1920, to free itself, as Lenin put it, from its Asiatic darkness; of the Spanish Republic, in the campaign waged by Marcelino Domingo, with 500 schools established every year; and of the Mexican Revolution, with its travelling schools and rural missions.

For this reason, we view with deep sympathy the Peruvian Ministry of Education's plans to deal with the problem, resuming the initiative of the 1943-46 campaigns in so doing with the added advantage, of course, of experience gained and of the improved level of organization and technique. We consider, however, that the ministry should be given the State's wholehearted backing, not as auxiliary support but as the expression of the will of the whole body politic.

The State, in turn, should have the co-operation, as the indispensable civic bedrock, of the literate population in all its varied forms: press, political parties, cultural institutions and private individuals. A degree of enthusiasm can thereby be aroused which will turn every citizen into a literacy worker. Simple methods and procedures of teaching reading and writing can be popularized among adults, young people and children so as to draw them into this mighty crusade. Efforts by teams of literacy workers and clubs, and the introduction of competitions and moral rewards, can result in a vigorous drive to free the minds of millions of Peruvians from their present darkness.

The result of this co-ordinated effort embracing the ministry, the State and the literate population could be to produce an organic plan covering successive cycles and setting a date for the achievement of the final target of the liquidation of illiteracy in Peru.

6. In the case of the vernacular-speaking peasantry—those who speak only Quechua, Aymara or the languages of the forest-dwellers—the problem of literacy should also involve that of teaching them Spanish.

National unity in our country is being achieved on the basis of the official cultivated language common to all Peruvians. There is no question of discarding the indigenous languages of Peru—an age-old national treasure which deserves our love and respect and the finest tribute to which is the scientific study made of it at our universities. The law, science, news, the revelation of the universal world of culture—all are in Spanish. With a genuine love for the Indian races of our land, therefore, we consider that they should learn Spanish and express themselves in that language. To make them literate in Quechua or other archaic languages is counter to their own wishes as revealed by various surveys conducted mainly in the southern uplands. While it is certain that no expert would defend the principle of confining new literates to those languages, there is a certain tendency, in recent reading books and among teachers devoted to the vernacular tongues, to follow a slower process of Castilianization—through affective evolution, in contradiction with the methodical principles of modern



language teaching which provide that the person being taught shall be plunged from the first moment into the current of the new language, severing his links with the old one at the root.

7. Although a great hope and a relative force for change, the achievement of literacy must not be regarded as a panacea, a miraculous remedy for ignorance, backwardness or injustice.

Literacy presupposes a favourable social environment. It is impossible to teach people to read who never have occasion to do so. The efforts made in that direction have shown that many pupils 'taught' to read properly soon relapse into illiteracy through lack of practice, forgetting all they have ever learned. Others, again, are known to the experts as 'illiterates through disuse', although they know how to read, the only reading matter available to them is street names. It follows that instruction in reading should be co-ordinated with the development of the reading habit, i.e., that of continuous reading.

Literacy also implies an atmosphere favourable to reading as an occupation, for the latter is incompatible with the poverty or backwardness (or near-backwardness) in which a large number of our compatriots struggle to live. Programmes for economic rehabilitation, agricultural development, domestic hygiene, better food and clothing, etc., should be developed at the same time; in many cases, initial steps to carry out this programme should precede the literacy programme proper, of which it is the foundation, as it were.

8. The difficulties which the execution of this great task encounters in Peru should not discourage us. The example of ancient Peru, which triumphed over all the adversities resulting from its unfavourable geographical conditions so harshly intractable to human wishes, in order to render those conditions useful and beneficial, should be a spur in this new struggle to surmount the rocky barriers that impede our progress, no longer in the physical sense but in that of culture and education.

## WHITHER ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA?

SURENDRA BALUPURI<sup>1</sup>

Much money has been spent on our literacy drives. With what results? A recent investigation carried out in India gives an unequivocal answer to this question. The Research, Training and Production Centre of Jamia Millia was, some time back, commissioned jointly by Unesco and the Indian Ministry of Education to evaluate the available reading materials for new literates. At the very outset the team of investigators was faced with the problem of determining what was meant by the term new literate. Who were the new literates on whom the books were to be tested? Since the way literacy certificates are distributed is not always above criticism, and since such factors as the period of schooling, the syllabus for study, the methods of teaching and examining, differ from state to state, it was difficult to fix a minimum standard of ability by which to judge new literates and to evaluate the reading materials produced for them.

There were, no doubt, a number of ready-made methods to fall back upon. But

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1. Head of Production, Research, Training and Production Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India. See the *Note* on 'Permanent Adult Schools in India' published in the previous issue of this bulletin, pp. 137-8.

to what extent could methods evolved on the basis of experiments conducted in foreign lands and in altogether different social conditions be applicable to India? They could not, at any rate, be relied on for a scientific inquiry. The investigating team was therefore obliged to sit down and work out its own method.

#### THE METHOD

A collection of all the primers and textbooks currently used for teaching adult illiterates in various Hindi-speaking states was made. A word-count on them was conducted, sifting out the common words from the total running-words. Of these common words, those that were repeated at least five times in every state were picked. They numbered only 73, and not one of them contained a joint letter. The investigating team wondered whether they would not be accused of judging the books much too harshly, if they were to make the ability test on such an easy basis. But they had to be scientifically methodical. However, they felt obliged to add two words themselves—these words were not difficult to understand, but were comparatively difficult to read because they contained joint letters. These 75 words were then woven into a very simple story-construction to be used for the minimum-ability test of the new literates. It was decided that those who could understand at least 50 per cent of the given passage, could be considered as having genuinely passed through their 'fundamental' schooling.

Once this was done, an area for the study had to be selected. Since the investigation was based on a test-passage in Hindi, the Delhi state and the states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, which together comprised almost all the Hindi-speaking areas of the country, were selected. But were there not developed and backward regions in every state in terms of literacy achievements? The system of random sampling was used to overcome this problem. Each state was first divided into cultural and linguistic zones. Then, from each such zone one district was selected at random, and from each district, a number of villages were also selected at random; finally, from each village a number of respondents were selected at random.

The *modus operandi* of the investigation thus having been determined, a tour of the selected area was undertaken. Covering thousands of miles, often travelling in the most primitive conveyances, the investigators visited 200 villages and interviewed 1,214 new literates. It took them about three and a half months to finish the job. Having tested in the above manner a cross-section of Indian new literates on a very easy passage, the Jamia investigating team found that as many as 22.7 per cent of the persons tested could neither read nor comprehend; 36.6 per cent could just read, but without comprehending; and only 40.7 per cent could both read and comprehend.

#### LACK OF AWARENESS

What then is the way out? If the situation is to be remedied, our outlook regarding adult education will have to be wholly changed, because our approach to adult education itself is responsible, in the main, for this halting progress. We have developed an attitude of scepticism and of complacency; all born of lack of appreciation of the vital role of adult education in the task of national reconstruction. For the very fact that we have been depending solely on drives conducted by fits and starts is a conclusive proof of our half-heartedness. Not only is suitable post-literacy reading material lamentably lacking, but there are hardly any methodically worked out syllabuses or scientifically tested primers and textbooks available, let alone specially trained teachers for adult illiterates.

The way out of this state of affairs is therefore to do away with the present spasmodic system of running short-period literacy classes, and to open instead regular permanent adult schools with pre-tested and pre-determined methods and courses of instruction, and, of course, suitably trained teachers.



The Research, Training and Production Centre of Jamia Millia Islamia submitted a scheme for the opening of regular permanent adult schools to the Indian Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. The scheme, happily, was accepted and is now being worked out. The purpose of it is to make experiments in running such schools and to find out, not only whether they are workable, but also what their needs and requirements are. To begin with these schools will enable the adults to reach an attainment level on a par with that of students completing the primary course, i.e., standard IV, and at the same time will be designed to suit the adult mind and adult needs. At the end of the course there will be a public examination and certificates will be awarded to the adult students who qualify. This certificate will be considered equivalent to the primary-pass certificates awarded in schools for boys and girls.<sup>1</sup>

#### PRELIMINARIES COMPLETED

After the staff for the studies required to launch the scheme had been recruited, the existing school syllabuses in various states were examined, and a four-phased syllabus for various grades of the proposed experimental adult schools was prepared in the light of the abilities and requirements of an Indian adult, with emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic and on social studies and general science. The focal point of this syllabus was its 'significance', i.e., its immediate function in improving the adult and providing him with habits and skills as integral parts of his larger experience, thus rendering him socially creative. Then expert opinions were sought on this syllabus. As the next step, textbooks from different states were procured and provisional selections were made. Research units were then set up at Calcutta, Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Hyderabad and Lucknow in co-operation with one voluntary organization in each of these places; and heads of these units were given a three-month training course. All the trainees already had considerable practical experience of their own in the field of adult education and now that they have gone back to their centres, they are launching the proposed experimental adult schools—about forty altogether in the urban (and especially industrial) centres of their particular regions. Of these, 12 have already been opened in Delhi itself by the Jamia Millia headquarters research unit.

#### THE TASK AHEAD

On the provisional determination of the time length for each grade, based on experience with the teaching material selected for the first phase, the different research units will, by experiments in their respective schools and periodic attainment tests, find out the actual time, the kind of textbooks and other aids, if any, required for the first stage adult student to take him to the tentatively fixed second grade; and then to the third and fourth grades respectively. Then the evaluation of work at different research centres will be compared and co-ordinated.

On the basis of conclusions thus reached, textbooks in Hindi for various grades and on various subjects will be prepared by the Jamia research centre and by other units in their respective languages. These textbooks will of course have to be supplemented by other follow-up books, and the Jamia research centre has already evaluated and graded the existing books of this type, and has also produced some model ones.

It has been assumed that a normal adult would take about 24 months to attain the achievement level of Primary Standard IV. The experimental classes will therefore run for a continuous period of 24 months at the end of which the entire project will be evaluated. In the light of that evaluation the scheme for the establishment of permanent adult schools in the country and the upgrading of the experimental schools to higher secondary level will be given final shape and submitted to the Government of India with a view to its incorporation into the regular educational structure of the country.

1. See *Fundamental and Adult Education Bulletin*, Vol. X (1958), No. 3, pp. 137-8.

# THE WORKERS' EDUCATION CENTRE AT BIERVILLE

R. LEBESCOND

With its Federal Institute for Trade Union Research and Training, its regional centres known as workers' training schools and its local trade union education centres, the French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC) operates an educational system suited to the multifarious and complex needs involved in training active trade union workers.

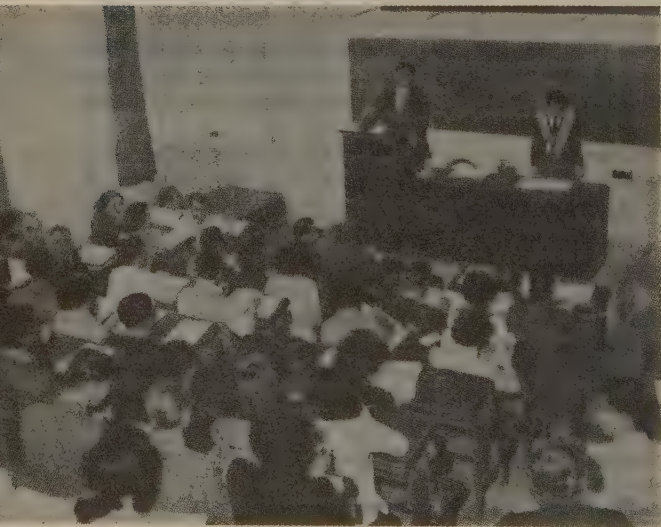
CFTC, ever since its inception, has attached special weight to the education of its members and officials. The present institutions were created well before the last war: workers' training schools were in operation in Lyons (as far back as 1921), in Lille and later in Paris, while the federal institute was established in 1937. After the Liberation, the work was resumed along more systematic and simplified lines.

At present, our central committee can boast of a number of highly important achievements. The workers' education centre at Bierville, set up on the initiative of the federal institute, is in the nature, for example, of a real workers' university.

## AN IDEAL SETTING

The Bierville centre has been open since May 1952. It is established at Boissy-la-Rivière (Seine-et-Oise) about 32 miles south of Paris, in the valley of the Juine. Road and rail communications are good. The trainees are able to work amid open surroundings, in a peaceful woodland setting contrasting with the bustle of the town. These essential factors provide favourable conditions for the fairly intensive mental work that is called for. Incidentally, nearly all trade union schools in every country try to create the same conditions.

Bierville's educational activities extend from 1 October to 15 June, the centre operating as a 'Workers' Home' from 1 July to 20 September.



*A study course. (Photo: B. Weitz.)*



*A workshop group. (Photo: B.Weitz.)*



#### MODERN EQUIPMENT

The school consists of three operational units, each consisting of a classroom, several studies for work by small groups and an office. One of the units also includes a fully equipped lecture room.

The teaching material, which comes in for heavy use, is lavish; pictures, tape recorders for recording individual courses and exercises for training speakers, film and filmstrip projectors, gramophones, etc.

#### INTENSIVE ACTIVITY

Bierville can take about 100 persons at one time, together with their families if necessary. Since 1952, over 8,000 active trade unionists have taken courses there lasting 4 to 15 days. The 1958 programme provided for 93 educational events, with an anticipated attendance of between 2,700 and 3,000.

#### THE PROGRAMMES

The programmes are varied, like the problems which exercise the world of labour and the responsibilities which devolve on trade unionists. Whether designed for budding trade unionists or for already experienced militants—shop stewards, members of factory committees, administrators of social security funds, workers' safety inspectors, members of economic or international commissions, etc.—the obvious aim of the courses is to impart some knowledge of economics, law, labour organization and other subjects, although they also seek to instruct the trainees in methods of individual work (reading, note-taking, filing and documentation, preparation of skeleton plans for speeches, reports, etc.) and group work (organization of team-work, preparation and presentation of agendas, etc.).

*Relaxation after study and reflection.*  
(Photo: B. Weitz.)



#### METHODS OF WORK

The methods of work applied at Bierville are inspired by active pedagogy. Each pupil participates actively, instruction being based on discussion, team-work and the exchange of experience.

The educational work is conducted by a number of expert 'teams of instructors' and is directed by responsible persons who have gone thoroughly into the problems of workers' trade union education.

Our experience over a number of years has yielded a number of valuable lessons, and pedagogical sessions are held to publicize and ensure the general application of teaching methods which have proved their worth. The sessions are attended by all the teachers and directors at the centre's command, and their programme covers the following points, among others: preparation of daily study schedules; principles and active methods; audio-visual aids; preparation and development of themes; committee work; group correspondence courses; 'facts' and how to use them; the work of the local centre; and the role of the educator.

#### CONCLUSION

Culture is not something which is acquired once and for all. It has to be kept permanently up to date and constantly renewed. The intensive work of the Bierville centre is therefore supplemented by other activities at the regional and local level, as referred to at the beginning of this article. This enables the federal institute to adapt its training to the course of developments and to each specific situation.



# THE FAMILY OF MAN<sup>1</sup>

MARTIN S. DWORKIN

No exhibition of photographs has received the interest and acclaim accorded 'The Family of Man', conceived and created by Edward Steichen—himself one of the greatest photographers—with the assistance of Wayne Miller. At New York's Museum of Modern Art, where Steichen is director of the department of photography, the exhibition attracted more than a quarter of a million visitors during its three-month stay early in 1955. The response grew enormously on its tour of the United States of America. In Minneapolis, Dallas, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh, larger crowds than had ever attended museum exhibitions were counted. As the full-size edition continued travelling during 1957 and 1958, to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Toronto (Canada), and other cities, several smaller versions were also circulated, reaching unnumbered people who thereby had their first experience of formally presented art.

In Europe and Asia, 'The Family of Man', presented under the auspice of the United States Information Agency, impressed new multitudes—both as the most ambitious use of photographs hitherto attempted, and by its theme of the inherent community of mankind. In addition to first-hand impact upon viewers, the exhibition has exerted incalculable influence in publications throughout the world, which carried accounts and commentaries, often considerably illustrated. A book containing all the pictures and thematic texts has, in fact, become one of the most successful illustrated volumes ever published.

That a collection of photographs could excite such a response has been judged an absolute proof of the vitality of photography as a medium of artistic expression and communication. Some critics and photographers have been dubious about the theme or organic concept—and also about Steichen's selection of photographs and way of ordering them into a unitary whole. But 'The Family of Man' has been nothing if not popular. The public apparently understands the concept, and likes it, while enjoying the experience of looking at a large number of photographs carefully arranged in a museum or exhibition hall.

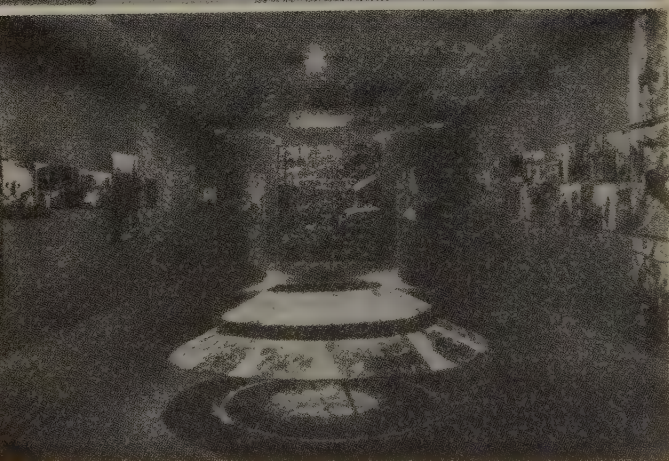
In fact, the greatest importance of 'The Family of Man' lies in this understanding, or successful communication of ideas—evidence of the coming to maturity of a language and the refinement of means of using it. Nobody is puzzled about the theme, and no critic complains about recondite meanings. If Steichen's philosophy of man is essentially fuzzy, and the show relentlessly sentimental in consequence, this is all eminently clear. What is not understood is *why* it is all so clear. The space of museums has been used to present 503 photographs from 68 countries, organized deliberately to convey a particular message—and it has worked. If this seems unremarkable, it is only because we have learned so much so well—albeit in a time so amazingly short that people still young may recall its beginning.

Steichen has been the leader in experimenting with the form of the photographic exhibition as a vehicle for ideas. His earlier shows: 'In and Out of Focus', 'The Exact Instant', and particularly 'The Korean War', pictorially illuminated specific themes. 'The Family of Man' articulates a generalized philosophy. The photographs are arranged in groups, and presented around lyrical epigrams or proverbs out of many cultures: Homer, Lao-tze, Shakespeare, Deuteronomy, Einstein, Montaigne, the Kwakiutl Indians, James Joyce, Genesis, the pueblos, the Bhagavad-Gita, the Charter of the United Nations. The prevailing temper is joyous, rhapsodic—represented by Eugene Harris's repeated *leit-motiv* picture of a happy Andean piper boy. Each group

1. This contribution is based on an article originally published in *The Progressive Magazine*.



*Two views of 'The Family of Man' exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. (Photo: Ezra Stoller.)*



subtheme advances the observer along the general argument of the exhibition, expressed in a prologue by Carl Sandburg—who is by happy co-incidence Steichen's brother-in-law. Man, it is declared, belongs to a single family, whatever his culture, or colour, or nation, or particular circumstances.

The pictures take this up at once. Man everywhere is equally naked in nature—symbolized by Wynn Bullock's striking photograph of a nude child asleep in a forest glade, embedded in new leaves and surrounded by primeval ferns. Man loves, he weds, he begets children, tenderly treated—who grow, and play, and show those fears and angers that presage adult conflicts. He works, and his labour in the earth nourishes him; he sings and dances, laughs and celebrates, studies and ponders, courts and converses, dies and mourns and marks his passing. But life flows on, and there is agony, hunger, misery—and dreams of hope, humility, and reverence for deity.

People are fundamentally good and kind; but they struggle, they need justice from themselves, the mutual concern of self-government. For a soldier's corpse in a blasted earth, there is Sophocles's question, 'Who is the slayer, who the victim? Speak.' And to answer, there are only people, everywhere, forming their multitudes, singly, so different and alike. The United Nations Assembly represents their hope organized;





(Photo: Eve Arnold, Magnum.)



(Photo: Eugène Harris, *Popular Photography*.)

*Two pictures of 'The Family of Man' exhibition.*

the atomic cataclysm the potentiality of obliteration, futility. At the end again are the children, playing: embodiments of a new world, as in W. Eugene Smith's classic photograph of a little boy and girl walking hand in hand through woods into sunlight.

This 'text' is given almost wholly in pictures alone. The thematic epigrams are strophic guides, marking the stanzas. Such deliberate use of pictures is no longer novel; this is precisely the point to be noted. The achievement of 'The Family of Man' lies in its linguistic sophistication, rather than origination. Not long ago, the exhibition would have been generally abstruse—or even unintelligible—for most of the people who comprehend it immediately today. Its use of photographs, and of a museum's space to present them, follows and pre-requires an expanding familiarity with the terms and grammar of a complex pictorial language—itsself one of the unique developments in communication of our century.

The first element of this language is photography, whose images of the world have become part of everyday vision in the past hundred years. But its visual syntax has developed only in a generation or two—looking back from the picture magazines, which revolutionized journalism in the 1930s; to the upheaval in spatial design that stirred a little more than sixty years ago, and produced a new painting, sculpture, architecture—and a new format for presenting words and pictures, the modern magazine page-spread; to that organic element that imparts more than unitary meanings to the pictures when they are grouped together: *montage*, that was learned from the motion picture.

'The Family of Man', in fact, is the most spectacular demonstration in recent years of the influence of the cinema in the visual arts. The photographs are not exhibited in the old, salon manner of the pictorialists, derived from ways of looking at paintings—each separately framed and contained, in form as well as content. They were selected and ordered to create a picture story—much as picture stories are synthesized in magazines and books. Each section, in its own room or part of the museum display, corresponds to a 'spread' in a picture magazine—and, essentially, to a sequence in a film, with the vital filmic element of time suggested by a pictorial rhythm that is analogous to the rhythm created in editing a motion picture.



The eye leaps from one photograph to the next—not haphazardly, but by design. The mind associates its images—not in any accidental pattern of fragments, but in a *gestalt* or configuration, or form-relationship, that was deliberately intended, and deliberately created by careful choice and discard, juxtaposition and emphatic isolation. If we had not learned, since we were children, to follow the montage or combination of separate shots in a movie, we would be unable to 'read' the picture story—in a museum display, or in magazines and newspapers, or even in comic strips, which are so filmic as to resemble the story boards or visual synopses used in the production of motion pictures.

The eye moves around the typical magazine story-spread according to the design in which the pictures have been arranged—and this layout is the practical application of principles that were developed during modern artists' exploration of relations in two- and three-dimensional space. We may regard the abstractions of the De Stijl movement—exemplified by van Doesburg, Huszár, and most famously, Piet Mondrian—as Western sophistications of the linear simplicities of Japanese graphic design and architecture. But they have had profound practical consequences—as in providing the formal idiom wherein to arrange the structural elements of steel and glass, in Lever House or the United Nations; or the discipline whereby the eye may travel over the precisely mapped routes of advertising display—or, reading a magazine story, from pictures to text, or from pictures to pictures, in an exact, orderly manner. 'The Family of Man' exhibition was designed to reapply this discipline to three-dimensional space.

As Paul Rudolph has created the basic installation, the viewer is directed to walk and see in a way quite similar to that whereby the eye moves over a picture magazine or book. But the design of a picture story, whether on paper or on walls or partitions in a museum, serves only to provide direction for the appreciation of content. And the modern language of photographs, that has become one of the great tongues of the earth, depends upon a grammar which we had to master first in order to comprehend the movies. It is a language in whose terms we may formulate our knowledge of the world, and speak of it to others. It has orders of coherence, and requires a discipline for determining clarity and evaluating meaning. It does not simply reproduce reality, in an exact likeness, but recreates it according to a continually elaborating iconography.

The pioneer director, D. W. Griffith, who made *Birth of a Nation* and *Intolerance*, originating most of the essential elements of cinematic form, once remarked, 'The moving picture, although a growth of only a few years, is boundless in its scope and endless in its possibilities. . . . The task I'm trying to achieve is above all to make you see.' How much we have learned to see in the way of the cinema, albeit far from the theatres and their quickening screens, may be the deepest meaning of Steichen's 'The Family of Man.'

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